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FACTORS IN THE HISTORICAL EVOLUTION OF MEXICO

Among the modern writers of historical science, not one considers history as a tribunal charged with the function of pronouncing sentence of approval or disapproval upon the acts narrated by it. Altamira in his book *Cuestiones Modernas de Historia* does not even mention this among the factors influencing modern theories regarding history; and Xenopol¹ considers the tendency to evaluate acts as the diverting of history from its true course. He claims that instead of such evaluation being the basis of historical science, it should rather be entirely eliminated therefrom by whatever means reason would suggest; and he regards the teaching or writing of history with an ethical or patriotic purpose in mind as an evil temptation against which the historian must constantly struggle.

If history deserves to be ranked among the sciences, it must endeavor to show the concatenation of cause and effect in the development of nations, and only in that case can it be the *magistra vitae* conceived by Cicero. In fact, the idea of history as a tribunal has always been an inconsistent metaphor. Public welfare requires that final court decrees shall not be subject to change; while history is a science in perpetual evolution. Every step in the advancement of other sciences requires a revision of history. In no other way can we explain the fact that the his-

¹ A. D. Xénopol, *Teoría de la Historia*, Madrid, 1911.

tory of ancient Babylonia, Egypt, Greece, Rome, and other countries, is now being rewritten. The ideas of the time of Bossuet regarding the Hebrews have nothing in common with those which modern historical criticism is now willing to accept. The history of the French Revolution in the eyes of the contemporaries of Taine, Lénotre, and Faguet is, in many respects, entirely opposite to the views held by Lamartine and Thiers. Historical ideas, far from being definite like judgments of courts, change with every historian. Opinions of Caesar, Nero, Philip II., Napoleon, and others, differ according to various writers. The individual himself may find that his original conception of men and historical events will undergo a change as a result of his more varied experience and broader knowledge.

To regard history as a tribunal is an evil for the science itself, for under this conception, it becomes, instead of a science, devoted to the research of laws which bind facts together, a weapon for political contest. Thus it becomes an evil for the people of a nation because, instead of teaching mutual dependence on general coöperation, it sows the seeds of intolerance and leads to dissolution.

In Mexico, unfortunately, the scientific conception of history has been abandoned, and as civil strife grows fiercer, those who narrate political events adhere more tenaciously to the idea that history is a tribunal, in order that they may lay the blame and curse of history upon their adversaries. True history of the kind written by Sahagún, Clavigero, Icazbalceta, and other Mexican historians is put aside and forgotten, and the foreigner who tries to abstract from the narratives of the present-day historian an idea of the real character of our people and problems is entirely misled, while Mexicans, conscious of the evil, regard this so-called history as one of the surest and saddest symptoms of national decadence. We intend here to demonstrate that the present state of Mexico is due not to any one individual or group of individuals, but is the result of the powerful momentum of social forces, which have reduced that country to a state of anarchy. It is not necessary to seek a criminal, and the efforts of men of heroic character have been powerless

to avoid the natural effects of forces beyond the control of human will. Mexico, to one not thoroughly acquainted with its history, appears to be a criminal. We aim to demonstrate by applying universal psychological and sociological laws, that Mexico, in spite of having the appearance of a criminal, is only the victim; and that considering the bloody and most painful tragedy of Mexican history, the heartrending tale of its unsuccessful struggles, its unobserved deeds of heroism, and its useless efforts and final undoing, an ancient philosopher would inscribe, as over the head of a modern Oedipus, the word *ἀνάγχη*.

The conquest of Mexico was the clash of two peoples quite distinct in character and civilization. The details of the epic adventure of Cortés and his companions embody the history of modern Mexico, just as in the seed exist the elements of the tree.

It was Spain's lot to be the bulwark of European civilization and to check the Mohammedan invasion of all Europe at the expense of the blood of its people in a struggle which lasted through eight centuries for the reconquest of the national soil. At the end of that tremendous contest, the Spanish people had accumulated energies which were to amaze the world; for they achieved the discovery of a New World, the conquest and colonization of a large part of it, the checking of Turkey's ambition, the acquisition of supremacy in Europe, and so great an extension of the Spanish domain that the king was enabled to say proudly that on his kingdom the sun never set; while in intellectual life, Spain was to win by her literature a place that no one could afterward dispute. The Spanish ideal was that of indomitable valor, that of the knight errant, always disposed to fight for his faith and for his country. Country and religion were two inseparable ideas in the mind of that people, who for centuries, fought at once for the supreme liberty of Spain and for the supremacy of Christianity over Islamism. Every one of the greatest personages of Spanish history presents the double aspect of conqueror and catechist, from the celebrated Pelayo and the legendary Cid, to Saint Ferdinand, Isabella, Cardinal Cisneros, Cortés, and Philip II.

On the other hand, the Indian, in Moctezuma's empire, had reached a considerable degree of settled and agricultural civilization before his morality had progressed sufficiently to suppress cannibalism. At times cannibalism figured in religious ritualism, and at others served as a means of getting a food supply, but in most cases partook of both characters. Wars between different tribes had for their aim, rather than conquest, the taking of prisoners in order that the Indians might gratify their superstition by human sacrifices in the temple of some god and thereafter satisfy their hunger.²

The warlike spirit together with the most wretched superstition tamed the Indian into humility. Accustomed to receive the cruelest treatment from his chief, and lacking oxen or any other animals for transportation and agriculture, he was endowed with incredible endurance under the conditions imposed by hard labor.³

² It is important for the reader to note carefully this circumstance of the cannibalism of the Indians before the conquest, which seems to have been overlooked by the writers who support the inconceivable thesis that Indian civilization was superior to that of the Spaniards. The ingenious and truthful historian, Bernal Diaz del Castillo, a soldier in the army of Cortés, says in his *Historia Verdadera de la Conquista de Nueva España* (Mexico, 1870), III. 250, that during the expedition of Cortés to the Hibueras, certain Mexican *caciques* captured two or three Indians of that region, and killed and ate them, as well as others who were the guides of the expedition. The same author (page 557) says that the Indians used to eat as much human flesh as the Spaniards ate beef; that in every town there was a kind of wooden house or cage in which the Indians incarcerated many men, women, and children, who as soon as they were fattened were sacrificed and eaten. See also Fr. Bernardino de Sahagún, *Historia General de las Cosas de Nueva España* (México, 1829), I. 213. Chavero, in his *Historia Antigua y de la Conquista de México*, in *México a Través de los Siglos* (Barcelona, 1888), I. 598, describes the cannibalistic banquet after the feast of the Nahui-Ollin. The Mexicans made a sort of international treaty with the peoples of Tlaxcala, Huexotzinco, and Cholula by which the latter peoples were thrice a year to wage war with the Mexicans themselves; the object of such war was not to make conquests, but to take prisoners for human sacrifices, and afterwards, to eat the victims. See Ixtlixochitl, *Historia de la Nación Chichimeca* (México, 1892), chap. 41; Orozco y Berra, *Historia Antigua y de la Conquista de México* (México, 1880), III. 288.

³ Chavero (*loc. cit.*, p. 612) describes the condition of the Indians in Mexico and divides the people into three classes: namely, priests, warriors, and slaves; and gives (p. 595) a full account of the despotism exercised by the upper classes of the Indians upon the workers, who had to do all the agricultural labor and bear all the burden of transportation without the help of animals of burden.

It was a general belief among the Indians that the god Quetzalcoatl would come from the east to recover his kingdom, and this superstition together with the hatred inspired by the tyranny of Moctezuma, enabled the Spaniards to take possession of the land without other resistance than a few battles with the Tlaxcaltecas, who afterward became their most faithful allies. Even Moctezuma, without any resistance, pledged himself as a vassal of the king of Spain. During an absence of Cortés, one of his captains, in charge of the army in Tenochtitlan (the ancient name of the City of Mexico) considering himself menaced by a war dance of the Indians, made a great slaughter of them. Thus began the struggle which, after a long siege, ended with the surrender of Tenochtitlan, during which the last Mexican emperor made an admirable defense against the superiority of the arms, science, and number of the Spaniards and their allies.

When the city of Tenochtitlan yielded, the fighting ended. The Indians came by thousands and hundreds of thousands to meet those men of unknown and godlike race who had been strong enough to overturn the powerful Aztec monarch, and had liberated them from the bloody tribute for the cannibal orgies in the temples of the ancient metropolis. All gathered to offer their personal labor to the conqueror.⁴ They accepted the new religion with such eagerness and haste as to arouse the suspicion of the missionaries. It was soon discovered, indeed, that, behind the images of Catholic saints, the Indians had hidden their old idols, as behind the mask of humility they had hidden the ferocity of their former customs. But in a

⁴ Those who have not studied sufficiently the character of the Spanish conquerors often make the egregious blunder of considering them as inspired solely by greedy ambition for money. To such persons it would be impossible to explain the fact that Cortés many times risked the success of his enterprise by his religious zeal for proselytizing. He had scarcely landed in Zempoala and gained the goodwill of a few allies when he overthrew the idols from the temple. Upon his first visit to Moctezuma he undertook the conversion of the Aztec emperor to the Catholic faith (Chavero, *loc. cit.*, p. 857), and in visiting the temple of Tenochtitlan (Mexico City) he overthrew the idols and set up in their stead a Christian altar (*ibid.*, p. 857).

comparatively short time the livestock,⁵ the improved methods of husbandry, the wheat and other new plants brought from Spain, lifted the Indians out of their cannibalism. However, they always kept silent as if in fear of giving utterance to some idea that lay hidden in their souls.

Two races stood face to face: one energetic, haughty, aggressive, sure of the superiority of its culture, eager to convert the hardships of the conquest into wealth; the other, a race unacquainted with the use of firearms or with phonetic signs for writing, overwhelmed by superstitious fears and accustomed to execute with patient obedience the most despotic and whimsical behests of local and imperial chiefs.⁶

Mexico is not guilty of this encounter between energy and activity on the one hand and patient resignation and forbearance on the other. Both elements entered into the composition of

⁵ Ten years after the conquest of Mexico, due to the unusual manner in which livestock of every description thrived, Charles V. decided to extend the jurisdiction of the tribunal of the *mesta* to that country in order to control matters referring to cattle raising (law I., tit. V., book V. of *Recopilación de Leyes de Indias*). In 1580 the wool produced in New Spain amounted to 12,000 *arrobos* (288,000 pounds); see Riva Palacio, *México a través de los Siglos*, p. 491. All kinds of ownerless wandering cattle were so abundant in 1548 that the half of the proceeds from their sale was applied to the support of a children's school and the king was obliged to issue several provisions in order to protect the lands of the Indians against the destruction wrought by horses, cows, sheep, and other animals from the *estancias* (tit. V., book V. of *Recopilación de Leyes de Indias*).

⁶ It must be borne in mind that all agricultural work had to be done without the help of domestic animals; and that in addition to this, the pyramids of Cholulu, Teotihuacan, and other places, as well as the beautifully carved temples, were made without the use of iron. The transportation of the enormous monolith known as the Aztec Calendar through many leagues of a marshy country is an illustration of the useless and hard labor imposed on the Indians by their native chiefs. Zurita (*Breve y Sumaria Relación*, apud Icazbalceta, *Nueva Colección de Documentos para la Historia de México*, III. 99-171) refers to the manner in which the Indians came to offer their services to the conquerors, and explains how the distribution of the land was not altered after the conquest, nor the work of the Indians increased. He attributes the so-called depopulation of the land to the fact that the Indians were sent to work in regions far from their home. Local authority was left in the hands of the Indian chiefs. Even in the city of México, Cuauhtemoc, as well as his successors, continued in the enjoyment of the local power for a long time, and this policy, established by Cortés, was afterwards adopted by law (*Recopilación de Leyes de Indias*, tit. VII., book VI.).

its society. Had the Indians been untamable savages, the conquest would have brought about their destruction; but as they were sedentary in their habits, they were put to work.

Where was the guilt? Has there been a single case in the history of the world of a superior race in contact with an inferior one without the former subduing the latter? Are not the struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest universal and irreversible laws? If these natural laws took effect in Mexico who is to be blamed? It is quite absurd to find culpability in the necessary processes of natural laws. No one is culpable because heat expands bodies, or because stones fall to the ground if their support be removed. The Puritans, upon reaching Massachusetts, found the Indians wild and scattered, living in hunting tribes, comparatively ignorant of agriculture and always ready to fight. The Puritans took no thought for the spreading of their faith among the natives and did not take possession of more land than they could cultivate individually. Why should they take more land if a large property could not be cultivated or even defended and would be only a cause for disturbances? Democracy there was the product of the two following facts: the Indians were savages and useless for peaceable work; and the English government did not care to enlighten the Indians with the Christian civilization.

In Mexico the sedentary civilization and the docility of the Indians, on the one hand, and the necessary measures taken in order to prepare them for a Christian life, on the other hand, necessarily produced an aristocracy. The Spaniard could take advantage of the labor of the Indian; the Indian agreed to work for him because he had been already accustomed to labor diligently for his *cacique*, that is, the chief of the tribe. His fate did not change, but only his master. Is there any country in the world where the promoter does not avail himself of low wages? The Spaniard, in taking the place of the old *cacique* exacted of the Indian the same tribute that the Indian was accustomed to pay to his former master. The Indians were apportioned as the most important part of the conquest, and the king of Spain, in the beginning, agreed in no wilful manner to the legitimacy of

this distribution on condition that the Indians receive religious instruction and fair wages, and protection in accordance with the provisions of the law, for there was considerable material work to be done for the development of the country to make it fit the ideas of European civilization.⁷

The harder the Spaniard fought in the conquest, the larger his share in the distribution of the Indians; but as the latter could not be utilized as instruments of labor except through the possession of land, the Spaniards took all the land they could, save that of the Indians, for the king of Spain never consented to the Indians being dispossessed of their lands. Besides the property of the Indians there were enormous stretches of land which Cortés could distribute among his companions, as well as Indians for the cultivation of them; and after Cortés, the king, too, could gratify his subjects in this way without detriment to any interest.

Such was the manner in which the sedentary civilization of the Indians and the desire of evangelizing them produced spontaneously and necessarily a Mexican aristocracy. In the struggle for existence, the colonists of Massachusetts killed the

⁷ The policy of Spain, from the first decisions of Isabella to the last law compiled in the *Recopilación de Leyes de Indias* was always inspired by the most ardent desire to improve the condition of the natives and civilize them. We shall give here only a few instances of this: A papal bull of Alexander VI. in the year 1501 resigned in favor of the king of Spain the tithes belonging to the Church in the New World, but the king declared the Indians free from that burden by the decree of July 12, 1530. The kings ceaselessly opposed the system of *encomiendas* or Indian slavery established under the guise of the Spaniards looking after their Christian education, a system which was, moreover, inaugurated by Columbus. Numerous royal decrees, beginning with that of January 26, 1523, urged the liberation of the natives, until the king at last succeeded in obtaining their freedom. See Solórzano, *Política Indiana*, book III., chap. I., paragraph III.; Riva Palacio, *loc. cit.*, p. 73. By the system of *encomienda* the Indian was compelled to pay to the Spaniard receiving the concession the same tribute that he had previously rendered to his chief. In return, the Spaniard guaranteed to protect the Indian and to give him a Christian education. The assignment of Indians to the Spanish *encomendero* was made for two generations, that is, for the life of the concessionary and that of his immediate successor. The king provided that said tribute should be paid in goods or money but not in compulsory services. As a matter of fact, however, the colonists very frequently disregarded that injunction.

Indian as an enemy and as useless. In the same way the Spanish colonists took advantage of the Indian already tamed and useful. The same principle and the same human passion, the same longing for happiness operating in different surroundings necessarily produced contrary effects; in Massachusetts a democracy; in Mexico, an aristocracy. Who can say where was the crime? Perhaps the Spaniards, by imposing hard work upon the Indians would have annihilated them in Mexico, even though the latter had been accustomed to a harder life; but the king of Spain interposed all his authority in behalf of the Indians, so that they were able not only to survive but to increase in number.⁸

The most abundant producer of character is labor. In Mexico, the Spaniards, as they came in search of a fortune, worked very hard, and as a rule, succeeded. Their children, however, were reared in wealth, with the spectacle of masters and servants before them, and with the idea of superiority. It was but natural for them to imagine the worker a servile and abject being, and honors as the portion of those who never worked.

Sometimes the Indian girl was handsome and the Spaniard did not consider her unworthy to be his wife; but sometimes he lived with her without legal bonds. The intimate contact of the two races produced an abundant population of mixed blood, legitimate and illegitimate. The mingling of the two races gave rise to certain biological and social effects. The features of the European predominated in the first issue, and in the first or second generation the physical features of the Indian tended to disappear. Hence the *mestizo* attempted to move among the privileged classes, which looked down upon him, as he, in his turn, gazed with contempt on the pure Indian race. Without

⁸ If we consider that, notwithstanding the introduction by the Spaniards of livestock, and of wheat and other plants, and in spite of the change from a hunting to a settled life, there were cases of famine in the colony, we must necessarily conclude that, contrary to the statements of the missionaries, which were based upon local experience and personal impressions, without general statistical data, the population of New Spain increased and the Indians were thriving better than before the Spanish colonization.

the wealth of the European, for inheritance pertained to the legitimate children, yet he refused to consent to his own degradation by working with the Indian. Consequently, his only chances for a living were by leaning upon the wealthy and flattering their passions; by seeking petty government employments, the only ones he could secure; by indulging in gambling and the vices which idleness produces so abundantly; or by assaulting and robbing in the highways with a gang of cutthroats.

Commerce, even reduced to domestic products, would be beneficial; but, due to the mountainous character of the country, its lack of navigable rivers, and the difficulty of travel, commerce with its educational effects could be engaged in very slightly. European ideas faded away in towns distant from the main centers of Spanish culture, and the Spaniards themselves, alone amidst an Indian population, became accustomed to the manners of the natives and adopted many of their psychological traits. Progress and a broader conception of life are incompatible with isolation. Thus the *mestizos* could not be redeemed, and they came to form the hotbed out of which was to come the political intriguer, the professional revolutionist, and the promoter of democracy, equality, liberty, fraternity, and the like.

One must bear in mind that the Spaniard had fought for centuries to reconquer his own country and the supremacy of his faith; and this fact, together with his intimate and long dealings with a semitic people, had exaggerated his religious feelings. The Indian, on the other hand, was, by the main feature of his character, eminently superstitious. Furthermore, during the period of the conquest and the coördination of the two races, whenever the Spanish soldier committed an outrage or injured an Indian, there was a Catholic priest to console the Indian and inspire him with charity and love; which, unfortunately, did not endure for long, except among the Jesuits. The work of the Catholic Church in Mexico, during the first half century after the conquest is worthy of all praise and was the basis of the respect conceded to it both among the Spaniards and

the Indians, and the cause of its lasting influence and of the religious character of society in New Spain.⁹

⁹ Riva Palacio, one of the most eminent modern Mexican historians, in the second volume of *México a través de los Siglos* (p. 92), impartial as he is, and in no way friendly to the conquerors, says: "We are filled with admiration when we read and muse on the history of the conquest of the American continent, by the energy and self denial with which those men, whether soldiers or friars, whether obeying the order of their superior or inspired by the idea of religious propaganda, dashed alone or with a few companions across unknown countries, amidst implacable enemies, ignorant of the language and custom of the natives, without even the most necessary food to sustain themselves, but with neither hesitation nor fear for the difficulties. The soldiers sought the camp of the enemy not to offer him peace, but to demand from him submission, a deed of rashness that even now the officers of the European armies would not dare to imitate, notwithstanding that the laws of war have invested the emissaries with the most sacred character. The friars, walking afoot, preached the gospel, going alone to distant lands, which nowadays, with all the advantages of modern civilization, with unity of government, language, and customs, it would be hard to reach."

In the meeting of the Bishops of Mexico, Tlaxcala, Michoacán, Oaxaca, Guatemala, and Chiapas, held in the city of Mexico in 1544, among other principles established, the following ones are worth noticing, particularly if we bear in mind the prevailing impression as to the autocracy of the kings of Spain, and if we remember that freedom of speech in the time of Charles V. was not boastfully proclaimed: "The Holy See, in granting the kings of Castille and Leon supreme rule over the Indies, did not intend to deprive the native lords of their seignior, honors, and dignity, nor did it intend to grant them any license or faculty by which the propaganda of the Christian faith and gospel would be hindered, by delaying the conversion of these people. The only reason the Holy See had in granting that supreme rule was not to make the kings of Castille and Leon more powerful and wealthy than they already were, but to spread the gospel and the Christian faith and religion." See Remesal, *Historia de la Provincia . . . de Chyapa y Guatemala de la Orden de . . . Sancto Domingo* (Madrid, 1619), book VII., chap. XVI., no. 5.

The third Mexican council (book V., tit. VIII, paragraph II.) makes a formal declaration in favor of the liberty of the Indians and orders that absolution be denied to those who maltreat or dispossess them.

In 1536, Fathers Andrés Olmos, a distinguished linguist, Juan de Gaona, of the University of Paris, Francisco Bustamante, a celebrated preacher, Juan Focher, Doctor of Laws of the University of Paris, Bernardino de Sahagún, the most distinguished of the colonial historians of his time, and other learned persons established the college of Santa Cruz de Tlaltelolco, for the education of Indian children. Father Pedro de Gante, a relative of Charles V. and the most conspicuous among the first Franciscans in New Spain for his zeal for the education of the Indians, founded a school for native children in the

The influence of the clergy was, therefore, deserved, but the bigotry of the Spaniards of those times was as great as that of the Puritans, and through the superstition of the Indians that influence extended beyond the limits within which harmony of social elements is impossible. But there is not and there can not be any morality where there is no responsibility. The religious check, that for some few was sufficient, became powerless among the many. Hence there appeared a social effect very interesting and worthy to be noted: namely, the Christian charity and self denial of the first priests, operating in the primitive mind of the Indians, produced what is most opposed to charity and self denial, a theocracy, which leads to worldly interests, political adventures, and money-making enterprises. The consequence of this was the accumulation of land and wealth in the hands of the Church.

The mere existence of sedentary Indians in the colony and the firm purpose to give them a Christian civilization, produced, on the one hand, a landholding aristocracy, that despised labor, and on the other, a class of lazy and troublesome people of mixed blood, and finally, a powerful worldly and ambitious clergy, haughty and disobedient to law and authority. From the economic point of view, this meant the acquisition of landed prop-

convent of San Francisco in the City of Mexico, which had an attendance of one thousand. See Joaquín García Icazbalceta, *La Instrucción Pública en México durante el Siglo XVI*. (México 1896), vol. I. of his works, pp. 163-270.

During the century of the conquest the Jesuits established the college of San Gregorio for natives only, and furthermore, they founded the most famous of all their educational institutes, the college of San Ildefonso in the City of Mexico, as well as other colleges in the same city and in Pátzcuaro, Valladolid, Oaxaca, Puebla, Vera Cruz, and Guadalajara (García Icazbalceta, *ibid.*, p. 205).

The Jesuit missionaries did not confine themselves to following the troops of the viceroys in their conquests; they dared to undertake the pacification and evangelization of regions where the efforts of the government had met with disaster. The Indian tribes of the north sacrificed many of these Jesuits, but as soon as one of them succumbed and died amidst horrible tortures, another appeared to take his place. The mutilated body of the former and the ruins and ashes of the mission did not suffice to make the newcomer abandon his purpose, neither could they daunt that heroic spirit shown by the Spaniards and Mexicans under the Spanish flag for the sake of their religion. See Riva Palacio, *ut supra*, p. 709.

erty and money, and from the ethical standpoint, the abandonment of the instruction of the people and the substitution of religious ritualism for moral precept. It declared the man who observed religious forms to be superior to him who cared principally for truth, and a simple and honest life. For a life of religious ritualism was mere submission to the priests; and this, in a theocratic society, wins success. Such was the situation in Mexico, considered only from the standpoint of the principal economic factors, that is, the land and the man—the two most important elements in the production of wealth. That situation was not the result of an arbitrary will.

Studying history from this high point we see neither heroes nor criminals: we see things coördinated by misfortune, in a way that could not bring good to the country. But we can not see the remedy—at least, the remedy within reach of the minds of those times and under the then prevailing theories regarding the functions of the State, and the rôle and operation of the laws. Political economy with its homeopathic remedies and evolutionary resources had not appeared, nor had scientific criticism separated ethics from religious ritualism, or revealed its wonderful educational wealth. Mexico was in that condition because it could not help being so, and in consequence, if one must lament this period of Mexico's history, no one has the right to accuse the country.

Amid that confusion and diversity of tendencies, there was, however, a coördinating force, namely, the authority of the king of Spain, insufficient, indeed, to improve customs and incapable of changing the character of society, yet always respected. Between the ambitious aggressiveness of the Spaniard, which would have made him the owner of all the land, and the improvidence of the Indian, the king was constantly and actively watchful of the welfare of the natives. The whole rich legislation for the Spanish colonies is an imperishable monument of the king's care and study in this titanic struggle, in which he attempted with forces of charity to overwhelm the forces of nature, and thus to offset the law of the survival of the fittest. Heroic undertaking worthy of the knights of the Round Table, in which

the instruments of the king were the Council of the Indies, wealthy and beneficent Mexicans, the viceroys, the *audiencia* or royal court, and the *visitadores*—all these having as the most important of their instructions the maintenance of justice and charity.

From that heroic strife which did not have the resources of modern scientific processes, and which was unable, on account of the distance between Spain and its colonies, to adapt itself speedily and completely to the emergencies that arose—from that superhuman effort to overrule nature, I say—came a society constructed upon an artificial basis with an intricate constitution, in which the several forces always produced puzzling effects. The people composed an inharmonious society, which made necessary on the part of statesmen, a broad and deep understanding, not only of political science, but of that most difficult branch of knowledge which may be denominated “the therapeutics of nations”.

In two ways the king of Spain was able to harmonize that incongruous society despite the opposite tendency of social forces. One was by the prudent use of the royal patronage, which not only entitled the monarch to appoint the bishops, canons, and other dignitaries of the Church, but to collect the tithes, first-fruits of the flocks, and other ecclesiastical revenues, as a compensation for his expenses and labors in the conquest and religious instruction of the natives. In this way the king retained the personal adherence and fidelity of the clergy and their obedience in more serious matters, though this power was not sufficient to reform the habits of the clergy themselves, in order that that body of men might be made an instrument for the inculcation of that morality so greatly needed by the colony—a morality, moreover, which might have solved many problems. The king's other method of coördination showed his love of justice, for he appointed as judges and above all, viceroys, the most reliable and prominent persons in Spain, because of their character, honesty, knowledge, and ability. Rarely was the appointment a failure, and the history of the viceregal administration might be taken in many instances as an example to be followed by

modern Mexican rulers, who through their frequent total ignorance of the history of former times, usually can not equal either that justice and wisdom, or that energy, skill, industry, and patience which shone forth so prominently in Antonio de Mendoza, the two Velascos, Enriquez de Almanza, the two Revillagigedos, Bucareli, and others. These men worthily occupy a chief place among the benefactors of the people, and to them should be erected in the heart of all good and conscientious Mexicans a monument *aere perennius*.

By their efforts New Spain became, in spite of internal discord, a prosperous country, which organized and supported geographical expeditions for discoveries north and south on the American continent, including the quest of a northwestern passage between the two oceans, the study of commercial highways across the Pacific Ocean; the discovery, conquest, and colonization of the Philippine Islands. In every direction emissaries were sent to preach the gospel and to spread the name of Spain.¹⁰ Vocabularies were collected and grammars compiled of many unknown tongues, while the traditions and legends of numerous peoples ready to receive a new civilization

¹⁰ Mexico, at its own expense conquered and colonized the Philippines under the command of Miguel López de Legaspi and Father Fray Andrés de Urdaneta who made the first map of these islands (See Orozco y Berra, *Apuntes para la Historia de la Geografía en México*, pp. 18-20; and Blair and Robertson, *The Philippine Islands*, *passim*. Juan de Oñate, a Mexican by birth, discovered Nuevo Mexico at his own cost and beheld, three centuries before the first American did, the wonders of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado (*Documentos Inéditos de Indias*, XIV., 188). Fathers Salvatierra and Kino, aided by Mexicans and with money supplied by them undertook the colonization of California and the Christianization of the Indians of that region, who were as savage and wild as those of the English colonies. A Mexican, Juan Caballero y Osio obligated himself to pay as many drafts as Father Salvatierra would draw upon him for that purpose; and with money given by Mexicans the churches and missions which are now the pride of California were built. See Clavigero, *Historia de la Antigua ó Baja California* (Méjico, 1852), book II., paragraph VII.; Alegre, *Historia de la Compañía de Jesús* (Mexico, 1841-42), book IX. Even now the Roman Catholic missions of California are supported by the funds provided by bequests of Mexicans, and the Government of the United States demanded from the Government of Mexico before the Hague International Commission the payment of the amount of those bequests which had been confiscated by Mexico.

were collected. By the peace and prosperity ushered in, Spain was able to erect magnificent specimens of a peculiar religious architecture, so appealing in its conception that even in the midst of modern scepticism, when we behold the wonder of those temples, we are imbued with the ideas and feelings which led to their construction; and the majesty of the whole, its richness of detail, the profusion of precious metal employed, the fanciful combination of light and shadow, cause us to understand the ecstasy of the builders and to regret the fact that so great a social power was wasted, which modern ideas and new methods would have directed to the welfare of the country.

Turning now to the intellectual realm, it may be noted that Mexico was the cradle of printing in America. In Mexico also was founded one of the first universities of the New World, an institution which was destroyed afterward by a so-called Progressive party. Two Mexicans described and delineated the plants of the west coast from Guatemala to the Islands of Cuadra and Vancouver. Alexander von Humboldt rendered his homage to the Mexican mathematicians, astronomers, naturalists, and historians, and he admired the progress of mining and civil engineering in Mexico.¹¹ In literature, Voltaire confessed that the first tragedy and the first comedy that illuminated France came from Spain; but perhaps Voltaire did not know that the author of *La Verdad Sospechosa* (The Truth in Doubt), imitated by Corneille, was not a Spaniard but a Mexican.

If, from the region of art and science we descend to the material affairs of administration, we see the revenues of the colonial government paying its budget, supplying the deficit of other colonies, and sending to the king on an average \$6,000,000 every year.¹² Indian towns had communal lands assigned to them from which the inhabitants could gain their livelihood. Towns and cities had deposits of grain and savings for the needs of their populations. Lastly, the wealthy class rivaled the richest persons of the world, and the Mexican dollar was the monetary unit in America as well as in Asia and the richest countries of Europe.

¹¹ Alexander von Humboldt, *Political Essay on the Kingdom of New Spain* (London, 1811-22), I., chap. VII.

¹² Humboldt, *loc. cit.*, IV., 224.

Such, to sum up, was the peculiar combination of economic forces of New Spain, namely: an aristocracy, powerful through its threefold superiority in education, in political influence, and in the possession of enormous estates containing millions of acres; a clergy powerful through its wealth and influential among the aristocracy through the loans granted upon their lands, and among the Indians through the fanaticism and the superstition of the masses.

When, in the decadence of the Spanish monarchy, Charles IV., giving up the policy of his forefathers, sought out and appointed his favorites as viceroys, the strength of the mother country and the influence of the officials began to decline. When that king, for the payment of the public debts, and completely ignoring the economic and social condition of the colony, ordered the clergy to collect 44,500,000 dollars¹³ owed to the Church by the landholders, not only was he not obeyed, but fears lest agriculture be ruined aroused the idea of independence among the aristocracy. That unwise order was the death sentence of the power of Spain in Mexico.

Below the aristocracy and clergy was the Indian. He still retained his primitive mentality under the overlay of a new religion. Without stimulus or ambition, he slumbered under the shadow of communal property, serving society as a tool for its work but yet becoming a source of trouble. As a material force this class outnumbered the other two classes three or four times. It represented brutal force, tamed rather by a superiority of the intellect than by a superiority of arms. It was a force not unlike the pent-up forces in the interior of the earth, and became the perpetual cause of upheavals that endangered the whole social structure.

Finally there was the restless group of the mixed bloods, the mingled offspring of the two different races, partaking of the ambition of the whites and of the improvidence of the Indians; each one of this class despised by his Spanish father, and despis-

¹³ Abad y Queipo, "Representacion de los Vecinos de Valladolid al Excelentísimo Señor Virrey en 24 de Octubre de 1805". In José María Luis Mora, *Obras Sueltas*, I.

ing his Indian mother; detesting labor as a sign of degradation, and longing for the riches of wealthy families; flattering the powerful and stirring up the masses; hating society and seeking to destroy all because of his incapacity for anything constructive.

High above the foregoing elements was a regulating power, which out of the chaos of diverse and incongruous interests, fashioned a nation with unity of language, customs, laws, traditions, and feelings, a nation shaped by the factors of European culture, imbued with the ideas of European civilization. In this were included also numerous Indian tribes among which there never had existed such unities, not even, indeed, a conception of the geographical unity of Mexico. This regulating power was that of the viceroys, and the secret of their achievement was the prime recommendation they brought from Spain, the most important of all their instructions, namely, to show in their government charity for the humble and to administer universal justice.¹⁴ This was the talisman that gave evidence to the world that Mexico, notwithstanding its difficult internal problems, might become a center of civilization. Never, therefore, can the gratitude of Mexicans conscious of the elements that formed their nation, and of its possible destiny, be too great toward those true authors of that unity, more ideal than material, which is called the Mexican Nation.

In these days, amid the horror and shame of a contest that awakens the indignation of mankind, it has become the custom to blame and abhor our past—the basis of our society, and the most glorious age in Mexico's history. We Mexicans owe our gratitude to those great viceroys who dried the tears of the Indian, thinking, perhaps, that they would live in his memory, and who, out of the confusion of the conquest, the strife of passions, and the clash of opposing interests, brought to light a nation. We owe our gratitude to them although they have not

¹⁴ Viceroy Martín Enríquez de Almanza, in his instructions to his successor, Conde de la Coruña, states: "The main object for which his Majesty sends the viceroys hither is to help and protect the Indians . . . as if they were their fathers" (*Instrucciones que por Mandado de S. M. hizo el Virrey D. Martín Enríquez de Almanza para el Conde de la Coruña*).

yet received any reward, either of statues of bronze, inscriptions upon monuments, or the merited praise and commendations of popular history. We can not discern in the policy of those viceroys any trace of the remedies in which the politicians of today place their trust; neither do we behold the "iron hand" of a fortunate tyrant, nor the dangerous empiricism of unlearned and undisciplined mobs, nor the use of seditious words. We are able to abstract from that policy only these two ideas which are the only ones that can redeem Mexico: the indestructible force of justice and the saving virtue of knowledge.

If the word *progress* signifies anything, it means the more general diffusion of wellbeing, or, in other words, the placing within reach of the people at large what was formerly accorded to the favored few. The progress of France, for instance, may be appreciated by the fact that, during the reign of Charles IX. the laborer could buy with his whole annual wages twenty-five and a half bushels of wheat, while the modern laborer before the Great War, if he devoted all his yearly earnings to the purchase of that cereal, could buy one hundred and six bushels. This is true progress. In Mexico, in 1792, under the colonial régime, the laborer could have bought with his year's income, one hundred bushels of wheat,¹⁵ but in 1908, he could buy only sixty-six bushels. This fact leads us to the fundamental problem of Mexican society, and it explains most eloquently what has lain hidden beneath deceptive appearances, caused by the existence of railways, banks, palaces, and theaters, which concealed that real retrogression that is now visible to all, but which was discernible before the revolution only to those of us who recognized decadence in every direction. This extended from the feeding of the people to the administration of justice, from morality in government to methods of public instruction, and from social entertainment to scientific and literary production.

¹⁵ See the figures of "Relación por Método Alfabético Compresiva de los Géneros, Frutos y Efectos Nacionales y Extranjeros, de Europa, Asia, Perú y Ultramarinos y del Reyno de Nueva España de frecuente Entrada en México, con Arreglo a las Noticias adquiridas por las Vistas de la Real Aduana, consiguiente a la Orden de la Superintendencia de ella, en Cumplimiento de la Superior del Exmo. Sr. Virrey de 3 de Julio de 1792 . . . "; Humboldt, *loc. cit.*, III. 98; and Solórzano, *Política Indiana*, book II., chap. II., no. 23.

This backward movement I shall explain simply through the unerring logic of facts from the economic point of view, but without accusing any one, by setting forth the manner in which social forces operate. We know how the land was divided among the clergy, the wealthy landowners, and the Indians, the last named possessing in common the lands of their ancient holdings or those of their new holdings granted during Spanish domination. Of these three groups, the clergy were the strongest, but since its function in the community was not that of engaging in business, the natural instrument of production was not its proper sphere. In order to provide for this the Church became a worldly institution. Its power depended in great measure upon the possession of the land, and its influence was that of a banker among the wealthy, whose landed property at the opening of the nineteenth century was mortgaged to the clergy for a sum amounting to forty-four million, five hundred thousand dollars. Finally, the power of the clergy depended upon its authority over the superstitious Indians, which caused the Church to become a supreme political power.

The Indians were in possession of the communal lands from which they derived a very scanty return. The economic value of this class consisted in its productiveness in agriculture, mining, and other industries requiring manual labor.

The influence of the Indian was twofold: one economic, the other political. As a laborer his wages were so low that neither the Chinese nor the Negro could compete with him. His average wages in different periods and places were about fifteen cents in American money. This low wage prevented the colonization of the country by European or North American laborers. When an Anglo-American goes to Mexico, it is as the employee of a large corporation such as a mine operator, or of some person who holds a rich concession from the government. Hence colonization has not yet produced any educational influence upon the laborers of the country. The problem is a very serious one, for if the landowner raises wages, the Indian will work fewer days. Instead of improving the condition of his family, he indulges himself in drinking with his companions,

and in wasting his money, thus ruining himself and his household through dissipation. As a political element, the Indian affects society by means of his superstition and his fondness for vain show. Superstition causes him to follow any one who openly cheats him, rather than the one who promises him what is reasonable. His superstition is by no means limited to the domain of religion; it extends to every kind of substantial scheme for realizing quickly and without work, the enjoyment of his desires, whether through the medium of some miraculous image, or the operation of some mysterious spell, or by virtue of some such high-sounding phrase as democracy, equality, liberty, fraternity, or socialism—terms which penetrating through the ears into the brain of the Indian produce effects as impossible to foresee, as would be the results of some chemical poured into a wholly undetermined mixture.

This is why the Indian has always been either at the mercy of the clergy or of the demagogue, who in turn have exploited his twofold superstition. In order to utilize politically the numerical strength of the Indian, both the clergy and the demagogue have had to descend to his level; and in proportion as they lower themselves they capture the mind of the native. To elevate him to a higher state of culture would be a patient and self-denying task and quite useless in politics; to descend to his level is something that can be accomplished at once. In this downward course civilization has been left far behind, and the demagogue has proved the speedier.

The fondness for show, which is common to all uncivilized peoples, makes the Indian prefer what he deems ornamental to what is useful. This trait makes him extremely dangerous to the Republic, because he is easily persuaded that he can gain the admiration of the world and surpass others simply by adopting some principle and supporting it by fighting and killing and committing every kind of excess. Thus he can gratify his preposterous ambition and satisfy his superstitious faith in what he can not understand, at the same time that he gives vent to the primal instincts of his nature.

Finally, his lack of a sense of justice makes him unfair. He may have knowledge, he may even be learned, but he can never become fair-minded. He can not appreciate and combine harmoniously the social elements, nor restrain himself from overthrowing the most legitimate rights, for he inevitably confuses his personal interest with those of society because of his tendency to inflate his own personality.

We have seen that one of the results of the conquest was to consider labor a degradation, inasmuch as it was confined to the subject race. *Mestizos*, and even Spaniards without fortune preferred a life of vice and even of crime, rather than by working to put themselves on a level with the abject class. It has been seen, too, that the restless and numerous *mestizos*, by their peculiar economic standing, made their living by flattering the wealthy, or by stirring up the Indians. During the Spanish rule they had no method by which they could arouse the whole mass of the Indians, and were capable only of producing local riots.

The independence of the United States afforded a good example which could be utilized for the creation of a general upheaval, while the iniquities of the French Revolution, crowned by the bright military era of Napoleon, inflamed their spirits. Thenceforth the agitator had what he needed in order to dispute with the clergy for the utilization of the force which resided in the character and number of the Indians, and in their superstition and vanity. Just as the clergy had inflamed the Indians with the announcement that God had made for them what He had not made for other peoples (as expressed in the motto of the Virgin of Guadalupe), so the demagogue was able to kindle the minds of the Indians with a similar idea by urging them to obtain their independence, and to excite the wonder of the world with tragedies like those of the French Revolution, and with such warlike enterprises as would exceed the glories of Napoleon.

As for the capitalistic class, it used the Indians too, but for their labor. Capital was economically interested in the progress and peace of Mexico, because this meant the increase of its fortune. This class, together with some unselfish and virtuous

priests, was the only one that exhibited its interest in rescuing the Indian from barbarism, and in coöperating with the king of Spain in the diffusion of knowledge; and it showed this disposition not by words, but by facts.

The public registers abound in conveyances, donations, endowments, and foundations for missions and schools throughout the territory of the colony. The College of Mines, the pride of Mexico, and the propagator of skillful engineers and scholars, was founded by this class, with a magnificence truly royal. It spent millions of dollars on this institution. The same class supported the Academy of Fine Arts, and the College of Las Vizcainas. All three were institutions for the free instruction of the people. The second possessed a collection of models of ancient Greek and Roman sculpture that, according to Humboldt, had no equal in Germany. There were also many charitable institutions founded and supported by this class which was never guilty of arousing the people to any disastrous undertaking.¹⁶

This class produced many patriots, who made their country illustrious in history, medicine, mathematics, and even in economics; but their voices have left no echo, their influence has been in vain. Such men have never come into political prominence, for they detest that method of gaining popularity among ignorant and superstitious people, who would laugh at them if they did not promise marvels of liberty, democracy, and equality. The absence of soberminded people from politics in Mexico is, therefore, a consequence resulting from the fact that neither the clergy nor the demagogue, nor the government, which has always been the product of one or the other, has consented to restrict the right to vote in elections to those who can read and write. The constitution of the United States provides for the restriction of the vote of the Indians, and in a practical way the Southern

¹⁶ In addition to the books already cited on the efforts of the clergy and the wealthy class for the education of the Indians, see the following: *Dictamen que dió la Junta de Fomento de California al Exmo. Sr. Presidente (1823-1863)*, Mexico; Archivo y Biblioteca de la Secretaría de Hacienda, *Las Misiones de la Alta California* (Mexico. 1914).

States have felt called upon to prevent the evils arising from the voting of the ignorant negroes; but in Mexico, the Indians, in overwhelming numbers, nullify the political importance of those people who do not pander to superstition, and who are unwilling to have recourse to force.

Responsibility for this situation has been placed upon Spain, it being charged that Spain did not educate the Indians. It is necessary, however, to bear in mind that, during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the king of England gave no thought to the education of the Indians in his colonies of North America, while the king of Spain, on the other hand, as far back as the sixteenth century put into operation a system substantially equivalent to that which has been adopted in the present century of pedagogy and sociology by the Commission on Indian Affairs of the Government of the United States. If any one doubt this, he has only to glance at the compilations of laws, the reports of the viceroys,¹⁷ and many other similar books that are to be found in the rich libraries of the city of New York. If Spain was not successful, it can not be said that the Commission on Indian Affairs, in spite of its enormous resources—and for a similar reason—has had any great success; and it must also be remembered that the Commission has had to deal with only three hundred thousand Indians set apart in reservations, while the king of Spain had to educate four millions, scattered throughout the whole extent of Mexico, which was at that time one of the three greatest empires of the world.

We have seen that the idea of independence sprang up among the wealthy and cultivated people only after the order of the king to collect the mortgage loans upon rural property. The agitators, watching attentively, took advantage of the opportunity, and with the help of the wealthy class began their uprisings. But from the beginning, many of them (not the real patriotic heroes) showed quite clearly that freedom was only a means, while disorder was the end. They took the French Revolution as a model, because in that way they had at once an

¹⁷ *Instrucciones que las Virreyes de Nueva España dejaron a sus Sucesores, 1544-1803* (Mexico, 1863-1867).

outlet for their excesses and were assured of the aid of the Indians. Had they attempted to imitate the American Revolution, they would have achieved independence very soon, since they would have had the support of the other classes, but mere independence would not be profitable for the agitators. The wealthy class, terrified by the butcheries and plundering of the rabble, disavowed the cause, and even opposed it. Upon the suppression of that insurrection, the clergy and the army achieved independence in a few months.

At the end of the war, Mexico had debts and an empty treasury. The United States also had this same problem to face after the achievement of independence. The conduct of the statesmen of the two nations is very significant. The United States, under the guidance of Hamilton, a great patriot and statesman, banked upon its debt; and the national debt became the source of national credit. This was a profound economic idea, which strengthened the national unity by means of a common obligation and a common currency, and it induced a greater morale because it indicated the confidence of the people in their own strength, and their pride in paying with their own resources the expense of constructing their own nationality.

In Mexico, where the colonial government had always had a surplus, with consequent ability to pay all debts, it was decided to have recourse to a foreign loan. This was the superstitious formula for attaining immediately and without effort, the solution of the problem, and for acquiring wealth. Henceforth, it was established, as the first principle of our national finances, that Mexico should have recourse to borrowing abroad for the development of its resources, and the solution of all its financial difficulties. It has not been understood that credit is the effect of morality and education, and not the cause of either one. Credit without character is the surest way to moral and economic ruin. That mistake has been mainly responsible for our gradual and continuous impoverishment. This decision once made by our officials, two loans were arranged in London with different houses, each of them being for £3,200,000. The bonds of the first one were sold at 50 per cent; those of the second at $83\frac{3}{4}$ per

cent, but the house went into bankruptcy after it got the money from the public. The product of these two loans was employed in large commissions, advanced interests, and amortizations. Mexico received only some wornout arms and uniforms, two old ships that were never seen in Vera Cruz, and £327,208 in money.¹⁸ This was the origin of our English debt, which, converted by the government of General Díaz, amounted to as much as one hundred million pesos. It would not seem so dear, if it could but teach that experience and wisdom which our statesmen hitherto have not acquired.

The nation could not even pay its fixed charges because of disorder in all business. Much less could it meet its new obligations of interest and the amortization of loans. The politicians, who showed themselves well qualified for gaining the votes of the Indians, and for raising an army, were unable to discover a remedy.

The unity of the country was shattered by the establishment of the federal system, adopted in a spirit of unwise admiration for the United States, and in order to obtain the sympathy of that country for the Mexican liberals; but chiefly to gratify and attract that considerable and restless class of political promoters of democracy without knowledge, liberty without moral control, and equality without effort, who controlling a limited region were unable to understand and help to support the national unity. In this way the ambitious increase in number and strength, the problems of the administration became difficult, and the national finances proved too great a puzzle for those politicians who only studied the way to entice and draw the Indians to their party.

The only prosperous people in the midst of this turmoil were the clergy. Independence was their complete triumph. Having attained it they obtained the right to appoint their own dignitaries, without either the restrictions of the royal patronage or the interference of civil authorities, as well as the right to collect

¹⁸ M. Payno y Flores, *Mexico and her Financial Questions with England, Spain and France* (Mexico, 1862).

the tithes and first fruits which had formerly been bestowed upon the king by the Holy See.

In 1833 a group of well informed and patriotic men proposed to congress that the nation should take charge of the support of religion, nationalize the landed property of the clergy, subdivide the farms into as many parts as might be deemed advisable, and sell them on condition that purchasers might postpone liquidation as long as they wished, but they should pay the State an annual interest of 5 per cent. From this revenue the government was to pay the interest, effect the amortization of the public debt, and maintain worship in a manner more adequate to the needs of the people. The clergy opposed the bill, and the government was quickly overthrown.¹⁹

The idea, however, was not forgotten. The demagogues preserved it as a magic new machine for stirring up trouble. In the period between 1856 and 1861, after a bloody revolution, the property of the church was sold, but without any consideration being given to the subdivision of the land. The large estates of the clergy were turned over to their tenants, and the farmers who owed money to the Church under mortgage were compelled to pay. In this manner agriculture was at last deprived of that money which King Charles IV. attempted to obtain, but who, less contemptuous of the welfare of Mexico than the Mexican politicians, did not force the issue, when he became aware of the difficulties. The loss for agriculture was enormous. All those who lacked money to meet the demands of the law, had to sell their farms at low prices to those of greater wealth, who, taking advantage of the bargain, increased their estates. Thus the work of the revolution had an effect contrary to that proposed. Still greater concentration of the land was brought about, as well as the ruin of agriculture, the impoverishment of the people, and a war with France—the latter because certain Mexicans, misled by desperation and inflamed by the uncompromising attitude of the successful politicians, who asked nothing less than the utter ruin of their enemies, appealed for help to a foreign power.

¹⁹ José María Luis Mora, *Obras Sueltas*, I.—“Proyecto del Diputado D. Juan José Espinosa de los Monteros para el Arreglo de la Deuda Nacional.”

The government, in its haste to accomplish its work, embraced in a general scheme of desamortization not only the landed property of the Church, but that of civil corporations, towns, and charitable institutions. All these lands were sold, but the money wellnigh disappeared. The lands that belonged to the Indian towns as far back as the time of the Aztec rulers, and which had been respected by the Spaniards, were subdivided among the Indians, who, with their characteristic improvidence, sold their portions, with the result that since then they have remained in the most complete moral, intellectual, and economic destitution. Such was the work of the *Reforma*, afterward so widely lauded as the most cherished offspring of the so-called liberal party.

It is a biological law, applicable to peoples, that in imperfect and primitive organisms, the same organ may perform divers functions. Mexico was not a very perfect social organism, and therefore it is not to be wondered at if the clergy, apart from its proper function of religion, fulfilled, by its wealth, that of a banker and provided rural credit. It performed this function with a capacity so nearly perfect that, while it was in the possession of its capital, no bank could compete with it; for, without legal regulation, it made or refused loans according to the financial responsibility of the petitioner, collecting an interest of from five to six per cent. Neither in that period nor afterward was there any commercial credit worthy of much consideration. Mexico has always needed rural credit and still needs it. The Church, at the close of the colonial period, had granted this class of credit to the amount of forty-four million, five hundred thousand dollars, a sum afterward increased. Immediately after the dispossession of the Church, the establishment of banks began, interest reached from eight to twelve per cent, and bank notes were issued.

In Mexico there are no complete statistics of small farms. Only farms of medium size, *ranchos*, and large estates, *haciendas*, are carefully listed. In 1810, properties listed included 3,749 *haciendas* and 10,633 *ranchos*, a total of 14,382 rural tracts.²⁰

²⁰ Fernando Noriega y Navarro, *Memorias sobre la Población del Nueva España*, (Mexico, 1808)

In 1854, on the eve of the *Reforma*, there were 6,092 *haciendas* and 15,085 *ranchos*, a total of 21,177 rural properties.²¹ Hence in forty-four years the number of rural properties had doubled, showing an improvement of economic conditions in the country. In 1876, after the *Reforma* and after the administrations of Juárez and Lerdo, the foremost leaders of that movement, there were 5,700 *haciendas* and 13,800 *ranchos*, a total of 19,500,²² that is the number of rural properties had diminished. The subdivision of this kind of property, the avowed purpose of the *Reforma*, was a complete failure. The farms of medium size received the main blow, as a natural consequence of the withdrawal of credit and money from agriculture.

We see now that the country was retrograding, through the ill-considered action of the politicians, who excluded all persons that did not share the belief in their fetishes and their partisan hatreds, or that did not accept their dogmas as principles of conduct. Every fair-minded man was forced to remain outside of politics, because he could not accept the radicalism of the clericals nor that of the so-called liberals. He was compelled to remain silent while the devastation of the country went on. Political predominance lay with the overwhelming number of the Indians, and honesty and sincerity forbade him to run after their votes by flattering their instincts and trading upon their superstitions. Having thus no influence whatsoever, the man of culture and learning lost his initiative, and there appeared a new type of profession, that of the practical man, who won the admiration and respect of society by his ability to convert political influence into riches.

The reader's attention has been called to the fact that the Indian, by offering his labor to the Spaniard, produced as a necessary consequence, a landed aristocracy. This system put the Indian to work and fashioned a society, with many defects, it is true, but one which might have been made the starting-point of an evolution. We now see the Indian, led astray by the politician, going into politics without understanding, aban-

²¹ *Anales del Ministerio de Fomento* (Mexico, 1854).

²² Antonio García y Cubas, *The Republic of Mexico in 1876* (Mexico, 1876).

doning the field of agriculture, and entering instead upon that of battle, thus destroying all that he had built up under the direction of the wealthier class. When he offered his labor, he caused the birth of an aristocracy; now by offering his vote, he produces an oclocracy.

Before this work of retrogression was concluded, General Díaz, through the approved methods of the Mexican politicians, came into power. During the first part of his administration, he was successful in reconciling his own interests with those of society, mortally wounded by the blind radicalism of Juárez and some of his partisans. From this reconciliation came peace; destruction ceased, and the work of reconstruction was at once begun. In 1893 the number of rural properties reached 35,479,²³ that is, in seventeen years it had doubled—a good demonstration of the welfare of the people.

Unfortunately, with peace at home and credit abroad, the idea that our riches had to come from without, appeared again. The value of minted gold and silver, exported from Mexico between the time of the conquest and the year 1884, was \$4,629,655,000.²⁴ If we produced this treasure, and if in olden times this money belonged to the Mexicans, it seems paradoxical to go to foreign countries to ask for money which we so abundantly produced and sent away. It was quite preposterous to long for that which was not our own, when we so carelessly beheld the exodus of our own wealth. It was one of the many instances in which the primitive mind, the pervading spirit of the Indian, revealed itself in our affairs; because the Indian, like the child, finds more pleasure in acquisition than in possession. An economist, nay, any sensible financier, would have understood that the problem to be solved was why all this wealth could not be kept in Mexico, which so sorely needed it, instead of how to get it back. Thus formulated, the problem would have led to the patient study of the conditions of society, and the delving to

²³ Dr. Antonio Peñafiel, *Estadística General de la República Mexicana en 1893*, published by the Dirección General de Estadística, (Mexico, 1894).

²⁴ Santiago Ramírez, *Noticia Histórica de la Riqueza Minera de México* (Mexico, 1884).

the obscure foundations of our economic life. The politician, however, was eager only to acquire wealth quickly and to enjoy for the moment an easy but showy triumph, heedless of the future of Mexico.

To gain the goodwill of foreign markets we required the bondholders of the old English debt with kingly liberality; we agreed to pay them one hundred million pesos. Thereupon, the doors of foreign credit were opened wide for us, and we used it, to the great delight of our politicians.

The result for any other than a politician has been terrifying. The Mexican enterprises that were considered most productive shifted rapidly to foreigners; the banks, the mines, the manufactories were no longer ours. The theory of the government became a model for individuals, and an education in business. Business itself became a world of unsound speculation, a frenzy which at a distance looked like the movement of progress. In the beginning we had to pay the interest on our debts; then we began to sell our enterprises, which were eventually wellnigh totally handed over to outsiders.²⁵ In the ten years intervening between 1898 and 1907 the excess of our exports over our imports were eight hundred and eleven million pesos, of which sum not one dollar was Mexican, that is, for the benefit of Mexico.²⁶ Not only that, but, as foreign exchange has always been above par, it is evident that the part of the exports necessary to make up the difference in the amount paid on our imports was not ours either, and for that reason we have had to pay the balance with new loans, or by selling other properties or enterprises.

In some other countries the excess of exports over imports is considered as a profit for the country; but, when that is really so in any country, the foreign exchange is at or below par, because the foreign markets are indebted to that country. This was not

²⁵ The best illustration of the above statement is the *Noticia del Movimiento de Sociedades Mineras y Mercantiles* (Mexico, 1911), by Dr. Antonio Peñafiel, in which it is seen that most of the business in Mexico is in the hands of foreigners, all the most important enterprises being possessed by them.

²⁶ Dirección General de Estadística, *Resumen de la Importación y Exportación* (Mexico, 1908)

the case with Mexico, and to a great extent, the responsibility lies in the theory that we must grow rich with the money earned and saved by others.

An observing psychologist would arrive at the interesting conclusion that the same infirmity of our minds leads us, on the one hand, to borrow money abroad without paying attention to the exportation of domestic productions, and, on the other, to obtain from abroad our institutions. We earnestly desire to show the attire both of wealth and of the most advanced institutions, without being willing to understand that both the money and the institutions are the offspring of laborious and perhaps very painful experience. To make a pretense of becoming rich with loans, when we have not showed our ability and energy in the preservation of our own fortune, is an illusion which has vanished before the reality of misery; and to pretend to reach the apex of civilization while avoiding the slow and painful process of education, by borrowing foreign institutions, and wasting contemptibly what we had established, is a crime punished invariably with the horrors of anarchy.

Misery and anarchy! Are not these the disease of Mexico? Are not both, however, the necessary, the inevitable consequence of the premises of Mexico's history? Is not all this a consequence of the superstitious belief in the marvelous spells that were to give us in a brief time the possession of riches and the luxurious habiliments of civilization?

Superstition and vain show; the Indian mind winning at last, and invading unnoticed, cunningly penetrating the pores of the social organism, through the impulse of the politicians, thus producing at the same time ethical and economic ruin, for lack of that selective action in society which would have conduced to the triumph of the fittest!

There existed in the Middle Ages the belief that by means of some alchemic manipulation and mysterious spell such a stone could be found as would, by its contact, change other metals into gold. Later this belief, which seemed to be confined to the realm of dreams, reappeared under a scientific disguise, and it was assumed that by increasing the circulating medium, and

mainly by paper currency, wealth would be increased. This misconception made Law famous in France, where economic progress was delayed by his counsels and caused the Revolution. Later that error, by unanimous consent, was classed among the number of economic superstitions.

The Mexican banking law of 1897, falling into the economic superstition of creating wealth by virtue of a legal formula, gave to every one who fulfilled certain requirements, the right to establish a bank and to issue notes to such an amount as he pleased within the limit of three times his capital stock. In this manner the banking corporations became the arbiters of the currency, causing the paper money to compete with the real money in the market. The government, devoting all its care to increase the credit of the banks, succeeded in securing for their banknotes a confidence equal to that deserved by real money. In this way the government lost all control upon the currency and one of the most essential principles of finance was infringed.

Let us observe the consequences. The circulation of the country in 1793, during its greater prosperity, was 31,693,000 pesos. In 1896, on the eve of the banking law, the value of banknotes in circulation was 37,967,105 pesos.²⁷ Hence, in more than a century the circulation increased by about six million pesos. Five years after the enactment of the law, the circulation rose to 86,145,227 pesos, more than double the former amount; and on December 31, 1910, it was more than threefold, reaching the amount of one hundred and seventeen million pesos. The amount of coined metallic money in the banks in 1896, previous to the enactment of the banking law, was forty-three million pesos, in 1910 it was eighty-seven million, that is, the circulation of coin had swollen to double.

These figures were considered as evidence of our prosperity, and, in fact, for those who sought in an increase of circulating medium the key to wealth, the argument was a cardinal one. But those who did not share this superstition inquired firstly, whether the production of capital goods had increased in pro-

²⁷ Dirección General de Estadística, *Cuadro Sinóptico Informativo de la Administración del Señor General D. Porfirio Díaz*.

portion, and, secondly, whether as a consequence, the living of the people was cheaper.

The production of wheat and corn in 1884, as reckoned by one of our best statisticians, was valued at one hundred and twenty-eight million pesos. According to the statistics of the Secretary of Fomento, the production of these two cereals in 1905 was valued at one hundred and twenty million pesos. Production, then, has decreased, and that calculated at the prices of the latter date, which were higher than those of the former. Whatever may be the errors in these two sets of statistics, we may deduce from them that, if the production had increased at all, it was by no means in an appreciable manner. Therefore, the swelling of the supply of money only served to raise the prices of the goods needed to maintain life, and some, taking advantage of these circumstances, produced a fever of speculation, like that in the United States in the time of Jackson and his immediate successors.

Activity of production remaining unchanged, the demand for laborers was not larger, and as they became numerous because of peace, there was no chance for them to better their wages in an inverse proportion to the market value of the money. Wages, therefore, equal in amount to those of former times, did not produce for the worker the same purchasing power as before. According to the principles laid down by Malthus, immorality sometimes helps man to keep up the standard of living. There too, immorality entered, and the increasing criminality and drunkenness reduced the efficiency of every worker by enlarging the demand for a greater number of men to accomplish the same labor that before could be performed by a few.²⁸ Deep and close relations exist between ethics and economics, which is only a feature of the solidarity and unity of life.

The decline in the value of the Mexican silver coin resulted not only from competition with banknotes, but from another very grave error of our statesmen. Everybody in Mexico who had any silver was entitled to have it coined. Therefore, the minted

²⁸ Julio Guerrero, *La Génesis del Crimen en México* (Paris, Vda. de Ch. Bouret, 1901).

and the unminted silver had the same value, with the same fluctuations in the market. Properly speaking we had no coin, that is, a legal standard by which to determine the value of other commodities, or, a measure whose title or value depends upon the exact proportion of the demands of circulation to the quantity of money in circulation, and not upon the market price of the coined substance. If everybody were permitted to coin his silver, the fall in the value of the metal necessarily would produce the debasement of the coin. The trouble and injury derived from such a condition was greatly resented by commerce in dealing with imported goods and foreign exchange, and by the workers because of the real reduction of their wages. The remedy was a very simple one, and one well known by the experience of other countries, namely, to suspend silver coinage, and curtail circulation until the demands of the retail trade and the scarcity of silver coin should increase the value of this coin to its former parity with gold. In elevating silver coin to its former value, the laborers would be supplied again with their former wages.

In 1905, the monetary law came into force; but far from meeting the needs of the people, it only considered the interest of foreign commerce and foreign exchange, and our silver coin, which contained more silver than the American dollar, was legally reduced to the value of fifty cents, which was wellnigh the market value of the metal it contained. We may see in this fact the result of the same kind of thinking noted above, the seeking abroad for the remedy of an internal disease, and finding in one day the solution of the problem by means of a legal enactment. It was the same revolutionary procedure, the same belief in magic spells to cure social diseases. The law said nothing of wages, as if there were no sufferings among the people, because of the decline in the value of our money. Henceforth the laborers were paid nominally the same salary, but in reality only half as much. Therefore, the inflation of circulation was merely fictitious. It proceeded in part from the competition of real money with banknotes, without any control or plan; and in part from the legal reduction of the value of the silver coin.

The government did not worry over this situation; but during the general crisis of 1907, it feared for the stability of the banks and heedless of public needs and the lessons of the past, it directed the banks to reduce their business to strictly commercial discount, which really they had never engaged in before. The banks, indeed, were planned by the law for commercial credit, but as this did not correspond to the stage of our development, they had, notwithstanding the law, served the proper needs of the people by extending rural credit, and this with the implied consent of the government, which had not objected in ten years to this course of procedure. This unlawful situation and wrong adjustment called for a remedy, in order to encourage credit and promote a wider and easier circulation; but it is easy to appreciate the dislike, the alarm, and the opposition which greeted the utterly arbitrary command to cease giving credit. Those who could paid the banks, and the rest were stared in the face by ruin. From a fever of speculation, we suddenly fell into a profound depression; from the delirium of grandeur we awakened in misery.

Then for the first time was heard the name of Francisco I. Madero.

Three times in our history the order to collect the loans granted to agriculture, and consequently, to suppress credit in our country, has caused a tremendous revolution: in the time of Charles IV., the war for independence; in the time of Juárez, the French intervention; in the time of General Díaz, the last years of revolution. On this occasion, as formerly, the economic cause served merely as an initial impulse; for in a short time what is at the bottom of all the troubles of Mexico has appeared, that is, the prehistoric Indian civilization trying to destroy the European civilization, which today it has very nearly accomplished.

If now you of the United States wish to know what is happening in Mexico, do not follow the news in the daily papers. You must read in your own history what happened in the case of the two most unfortunate experiments ever made by this government in attempting to give democracy to uneducated races: one attempt was made in the Indian territory as far back as 1830;

the other was made in the South, with the Negroes. Both produced misery and anarchy. Only peruse that history, and you can get to the bottom of the Mexican question and make a better forecast than by reading reams of paper written by politicians. Only you have to bear in mind constantly these two circumstances which aggravate the situation in Mexico: namely, that the Indians and Indian-like people number twelve millions, against scarcely two millions of those of European culture; and that the carpet-baggers of Mexico have experience and traditions rooted as far back as colonial times. They have the shrewdness and subtle wit of the Indian, combined with the grandiose words of modern civilization, with which they gain the sympathy of uninformed outsiders.

Now we can appreciate the connection between causes and events which necessarily brought Mexico to the present situation. We have seen how the agricultural Indian could defend himself better with his labor than the nomad of the north with his barbed arrows; how the pity of the king of Spain kept the Indian safe; how it was impossible to educate the natives; how by their large number and hard work they produced a landed aristocracy that set them to work, and how they, by their number and votes, produced on the other hand an oclocracy which moved them to destroy; and how, finally, the Indians have overthrown European civilization, now that an odd chance has placed in their hands the weapons of civilization—and which they have taken advantage of for the very purpose of destruction—cannons and rifles, as well as fiat-money. It has been seen how, in the struggle for political supremacy, the politicians, by taking advantage of the numerical strength of the Indians left society without selective action and without restraining forces; how through the predominance of these two forces, superstition and vain ostentation, the two features of the character of primitive man, have pervaded politics. It has been seen also how at last to these two defects is due the loss of our riches and our institutions, which must be the only basis of our evolution.

The logical linking of causes and effects has left no room for an investigation as to personal responsibilities; but neither do we need to have recourse to that easy and misleading method of

explanation. . The social forces were so arranged from the beginning in Mexico that they led Mexico necessarily to its present situation.

Does this mean that the cause of Mexico is lost. No, by no means! We must not believe in the wonderful and speedy results of great words; but in the prodigies of science united with patient and modest labor.

Mexico is a very delicate case of social pathology, a very interesting case for the economist. While in the hands of a rabble, playing democracy, it is a lost cause. We must place our confidence in men of justice and character, in men possessed of a will-power minded to cast out all the political falsehoods and awkward imitations which infect our institutions; in men of force, disposed to put things and persons in their places—to send Indians to study in the school or to plow in the field, according to their several ages, but far from politics, as long as they shall need in Mexico, as they needed in the United States, a guardian; to put the clergy to religious service; the banks to establish circulation and promote agriculture; and men versed in history and economics, conscious of their responsibility to frame a constitution for Mexico suited to the character of Mexico drawn from facts and the usages and needs of the country.

Do these men exist?

We have known men in Mexico before to whose knowledge and character we have rendered homage. Perhaps their names do not resound in politics, least of all, in revolutions. They perhaps have not appeared before the public view because of the lack of a selective judgment on the part of the Mexican people. If at this momentous period of our national life they are not called forth to such prominence as they deserve from us, and our country needs from them, then the last page of the history of Mexico has to be written, as the last result of these facts: the agricultural habits of the Indians when the conquest was made, and the charitable care with which they were preserved.

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LEDGERS OF THE ROYAL TREASURERS IN SPANISH AMERICA IN THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

The administrative organization of the former Spanish colonies in America is a field of research offering endless opportunities to the historical investigator. Local government, the *audiencia*, the viceroy, the colonial exchequer, ecclesiastical administration, Indian policy, none of them have received the thorough study which their importance warrants. We have generally been too content with meager gleanings from the *Recopilación de Leyes de las Indias*, in itself often an authority of doubtful value, eked out with what one may learn from Herrera's *Historia General de las Indias* and from a few juridical writers like Juan de Solórzano Pereira. The great collections of printed documents, such as the *Colección de Documentos Ineditos relativos al . . . América y Oceania*, have yet to be more fully utilized, and the marvellously rich colonial archives in Seville ransacked for illustrative material. As much of course may be said with regard to nearly every aspect of Hispanic American history, whether colonial or republican. Hispanic America awaits the labors of conscientious, enlightened modern scholarship. A deal of monographic writing is necessary before any definitive accounts of our southern neighbors may be attempted. But in the colonial era, while political events are generally of but limited, provincial appeal, the development of administrative organization is not only of consuming interest, but also extremely valuable for the history of European expansion in modern times.

The writer lays no claim to any serious contribution to our understanding of Spanish colonial administration. An essay printed in 1918¹ attempted to present a preliminary sketch of the organization and workings of the royal *hacienda* in the

¹ *American Historical Review*, XXIII., 779.

Indies in the sixteenth century. But it was only a sketch, which will doubtless require emendation as our knowledge deepens. What is here offered is material more or less representative of the receipts and expenditures of the royal treasurers in America in the time of Ferdinand the Catholic and Charles V., the period when colonial administration was taking permanent shape.

The early accounts of the treasurers of the more important colonies have been preserved virtually intact, and are easily accessible in the Archivo de Indias at Seville. Those for the viceroyalty of New Spain, including for exchequer purposes all lands north of Guatemala and Honduras, are complete from September, 1521, a few days after Hernando Cortés captured the great pueblo which later became Mexico City.

The first royal treasurer was Julian de Alderete, the officer accused of instigating the torture of the fallen Aztec prince after the taking of the city. In May, 1522, he left Mexico for Spain with the gold, jewels, and other trophies which constituted the first remittance of booty by Cortés to the Emperor; but he died on the voyage at Havana, thereby, it may be added, escaping capture by French corsairs when the little fleet later neared the Canary Islands. Diego de Soto, his deputy and successor, accompanied the second shipment of treasure by Cortés to Charles V. in 1524; and Alonso de Estrada, the third treasurer, was the individual to whom the royal *visitador*, Luis Ponce de Leon, delegated his powers at his untimely death by fever just after his arrival from Spain in the summer of 1526. Estrada continued at the head of the exchequer till he died in 1530. The next treasurer, Juan Alonso de Sosa, held office for over twenty-one years, from November, 1531 to March, 1553, and was followed by Fernando de Portugal, whose term carries us well into the reign of Philip II.

A tabular view of the receipts of the Mexican treasury between 1521 and 1560 appears on the two following pages.² As this table indicates, the principal items were the *quinto*, Indian tribute, judicial fines and confiscations, *almojarifazgo*, and the *cruzada*. The monetary units employed, it will be noticed, were

² Archivo de Indias, 4-1-1/19; 4-1-4/22; 4-1-5/23; 4-2-10/1.

RECEIPTS OF THE TREASURERS OF THE HACIENDA REAL IN NEW SPAIN, 1521-39

CUENTA DEL TESORERO			QUINTO, ETC.	TRIBUTOS	PENAS DE CÁMARA	ALMOJARI-FAZGO	MISCELÁNEA	TOTAL
	p. de oro	"de ley" bajo m. de plata						
Julian de Alderete Sept. 25, 1521 May 17, 1522			31,860-0-3	1,020-0-0	1,134-6-5		11,089-0-3	45,103-6-11
			3,403-0-10	474-1-0			286-6-1	4,163-7-11
			35-5-0	83-5-0			24-2-4	143-4-4
Diego de Soto May 20, 1522 March, 1524			37,473-0-10				14,259-2-11	51,730-3-9
	p. de oro	común + 3 quil.	55,000-0-0 (?)	6,000-0-0 (?)	?		?	69,119-4-11
		m. de plata						
Alonso de Estrada August 1524 Feb. 16, 1530			78,422-1-0		4,454-3-1	18,143-5-5	20,319-4-8	121,339-6-2
	p. de oro	común + 3 quil.	1,208-0-10	55,000-0-0 (?)	?		?	83,726-0-1
		de ley perfecta	38,000-0-0				25,321-2-11	63,321-2-11
		m. de plata	800-0-0 (?)				190-7-4 (?)	990-7-4
Jorge de Alvarado Feb. 16, 1530 Nov. 6, 1531			40,000-0-0 (?)	10,000-0-0 (?)		28,940-0-1	11,733-6-5	90,673-6-6
	p. de oro	de ley perfecta	19,000-0-0 (?)				?	19,546-1-5
		m. de plata	250-0-0 (?)		?		?	329-5-4
							79-5-4 (?)	
Juan Al° de So:a Nov. 16, 1531 July 31, 1539				10,922-6-1	3,604-2-10	80,731-5-9	62,285-5-6	157,544-4-2
	p. de oro	Tipuzque de minas	245,659-3-9	134,738-2-8	8,081-7-5	37,614-5-11	1,125-1-2	427,219-4-11
	m. de plata.	fina	33,434-2-0		64-2-2			33,498-6-2
		baja	288-2-1	227-5-4				515-7-5

RECEIPTS OF THE TREASURERS OF THE HACIENDA REAL IN NEW SPAIN, 1539-60

CUENTA DEL TESORERO			QUINTO, ETC.	TRIBUTOS	PENAS DE CÁMARA	CRUZADA	MISCELÁNEA	TOTAL
Juan Al° de Sosa Aug. 1, 1539 May 31, 1544	p. de	de minas	80,544-0-5	136,951-7-6	6,816-4-7		7,340-3-9	231,653-0-3
	oro	de Tipuzque	6,805-0-0	32,675-0-6	1,880-3-2	2,314-3-0	1,289-7-5	44,964-6-1
	m. de pl.	fina baja	66,505-6-4		30-2-4			66,536-1-0
Ibidem June 1, 1544 Dec. 31, 1549	p. de	de minas	26,681-7-11	121,467-4-3	9,708-7-11	3,440-5-0	8,804-4-0	170,103-5-1
	oro	de Tipuzque		190,685-1-6	6,285-0-2	8,675-5-1	150,760-5-10	354,406-4-7
	m. de plata.	fina baja	108,680-6-3					108,680-6-3
Ibidem Jan. 1, 1550 Mar. 11, 1553	p. de	de minas	5,126-0-1	90,138-3-11	2,797-6-6		113,686-3-10	211,748-6-4
	oro	de Tipuzque		187,271-2-7	7,716-5-5		77,029-0-8	272,017-0-8
	m. de plata.	fina baja	74,465-3-5				5,669-1-4	80,134-5-1
Fern. de Portugal Mar. 11, 1553 Aug. 21, 1555	oro	de minas	343,107-4-4	60,991-5-11			293-1-6	293-1-6
	"	" " Tipuzque		288,297-0-10			42,445-2-4	446,544-4-7
						Azogue—	33,855-1-11	322,152-2-9
Ibidem Aug. 21, 1555 Jan. 16, 1560	oro	de minas	575,668-6-3	86,584-3-10		33,208-4-0	397,378-2-10	1,092,840-0-11
	"	" " Tipuzque		512,115-5-11			214,251-3-1	726,367-1-0

Denominations for gold: 1 peso = 8 tomines = 96 granos.
 Denominations for silver: 1 marco = 8 onzas = 64 ochavas.

various and confusing—"oro de ley," "oro común," "oro mejor que común con tres quilates añadidos," "oro de ley perfecta," "oro de minas," "oro de Tipuzque," etc. It has been explained in another place³ that the relative value of these units, expressed in Spanish *maravedís*, was probably somewhat as follows:

<i>Peso de oro</i>	<i>Maravedís</i>
<i>de Tipuzque</i>	272
<i>común</i>	300
<i>común con 3 quilates añadidos</i>	360
<i>de ley perfecta</i>	450
<i>de minas</i>	450

A marc of silver was supposed to be worth roughly five gold *pesos*, but later came to be reckoned at 2210 *maravedís*, close to the legal value set upon it in Spain.

Translating the figures of the table in terms of Spanish silver dollars, we obtain the following results: The *quinto*, or royal fifth of gold, silver, and precious stones from booty and the produce of mines, during the first decade probably amounted to about 386,000 pesos, the tribute of the natives to something over 93,000 pesos. The only other large item is that of the *almojarifazgo* or customs, which apparently was not collected till 1524, and during the next seven years netted about 50,000 pesos. The total receipts of the treasury in this decade were nearly 694,000 pesos, of which about 373,000 pesos, or approximately the proceeds of the *quinto*, were sent to Spain on the account of the king. It is interesting to read in Alderete's ledger evidence of how large a part of the booty taken from the Aztecs consisted of such articles as cotton cloths, cocoa, and slaves. The king's share, one-fifth, just as in the case of jewels and other more precious spoil, was valued at over 9,000 pesos; from which we infer that the entire value of such booty was nearly 50,000 pesos.

During the next eight years, the first period of Alonso de Sosa's treasurership (November, 1531–August, 1539), the receipts more than doubled. Mines were being exploited, and the tribute of the natives organized and systematized, while immigration was laying the foundations for a new Spanish co-

³ *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, XXIX., 475.

lonial society and greatly increasing the demand for European imports. During this short period the total receipts of the Mexican treasury were nearly 1,212,000 pesos, of which about 678,000 pesos represented the *quinto*, 235,000 pesos, Indian tribute, and 143,000 pesos the proceeds of the *almojarifazgo*. In the same years, 333,000 pesos were shipped to the king.

In the following decade the total receipts again doubled, being roughly 2,488,000 pesos. To this the *quinto* contributed 1,601,000 pesos, and the natives in tribute 695,000 pesos. The customs returns were not clearly itemized, but judging from the figures of previous years, they probably amounted to between 15,000 and 20,000 pesos annually. On the other hand, we hear for the first time of a new source of income, the *cruzada*, which netted close to 17,000 pesos. During the decade, 640,500 pesos were sent to Spain.

In the last period covered by the table, the revenue continues to increase in the same ratio, the receipts being about 4,867,000 pesos. The *quinto* rose to 2,131,000 pesos, and the tribute to 1,381,000 pesos. A new item, the proceeds of the sale of mercury to the silver miners, which had been declared a royal monopoly, added about 55,000 pesos to the treasurer's accounts. To the metropolis was transmitted the unprecedented sum of 1,769,500 pesos. One may set these early figures over against those of the same exchequer office a century and a half later. Under the government of the Conde de Galve, from November, 1688 to February, 1696, a period of seven years and three months, the *quinto* in New Spain amounted to 4,346,500 pesos, all the other revenues together to 10,403,500 pesos, comprising a total of 14,750,000 pesos, or an average of a trifle over two million pesos a year. Between 1550 and 1560, as we have just seen, the annual average had been 486,700 pesos. In the later period, however, only 926,000 pesos were remitted to Spain, or about one-sixteenth of the entire receipts of the viceroyalty.⁴

⁴New York Public Library, Manuscripts Department: "Mexico—Real Hacienda. Certificación general . . . de lo producido . . . en la Real Casa de Méjico . . . desde 20 de Noviembre del año de 1688 . . . hasta 27 de Febrero del de 1696."

The papers of the royal exchequer in the Peruvian kingdom are in many respects as enlightening as those for New Spain, and they begin as promptly.⁵ The ledgers of the first treasurer, Alonso Riguelme, open on April 16, 1531, when Francisco Pizarro and his band were preparing to leave the coast at Tumbes for Cajamarca and the uplands of Peru, and Riguelme continued to serve till his death in May, 1548. His receipts, therefore, include the royal share of the plunder of the Inca empire. During the next ten years, six treasurers followed in rapid succession, none of them serving more than two years. The receipts of each, expressed in terms of Spanish silver dollars, were as follows:

	<i>Pesos</i>
April 16, 1531–May 8, 1548..... (Alonso Riguelme, treasurer)	3,468,500
May 8, 1548–December 31, 1549..... (Bernaldino de San Pedro, treasurer)	866,000
Also 5,555 bars of silver unvalued	
January 1, 1550–? 1552..... (Alonso de Almaraz, treasurer)	1,133,500
May 30, 1552–June 29, 1554..... (Sancho de Hugarte, treasurer)	1,808,000
July 16, 1554–July 27, 1555..... (Antonio Ramirez Vasquez, treasurer)	284,000
July 30, 1555–July 1, 1556..... (Bernaldo Ruiz, treasurer)	1,163,000
August 9, 1556–December 31, 1557..... (Juan Muñoz Rico, treasurer)	1,497,500

The total revenues during the last decade—May, 1548–December, 1557—were approximately 6,752,000 pesos, implying an average of over 675,000 pesos a year. During the same decade in New Spain, the annual average was only 486,700 pesos, and in Peru in the years preceding 1548 only about 204,000 pesos.

The chief sources of income in the southern Viceroyalty were the same as in the northern, the *quinto* and the tribute of the natives. Peru in the sixteenth century, however, especially after the discovery of the celebrated silver mines of Potosí in 1545, proved infinitely richer in the precious metals than New

⁵ Archivo de Indias, 10-3-1/25, 10-3-2/26, 10-3-4/28.

Spain, and far the greater part of the royal revenue was derived from this source. Customs, or *almojarifazgo*, were of less consequence. Import duties upon goods shipped from Europe to the Pacific coast of South America were paid at the Isthmus of Darien on the value as there appraised, while at Callao and Guayaquil there was collected merely five per cent of the increase in value which had accrued in transit from Panama. This five per cent, together with the customs on inter-colonial trade, formed a meager item of revenue, in contrast to the receipts at the great Mexican port of entry, Vera Cruz. During the incumbency of Alonso Riguelme, the *quinto* was roughly 3,330,000 pesos, or all but about 1/23 of the entire receipts. The tribute of the comparatively few natives not granted away to the *conquistadores* amounted to only about 76,000 pesos, and the *almojarifazgo* to about 17,000 pesos. In the following decade, 1548–1557, the *quinto* rose to over five and a quarter millions, and the tribute to approximately 445,500 pesos. Three-fourths of the latter was collected in the last two years, when, with the crushing of Giron's rebellion and the tardy enforcement of the "New Laws" of Charles V., many *encomiendas* were forfeited to the Crown.

The exchequer records for the islands and other territories in and about the Caribbean Sea—New Granada, Tierra Firme, Guatemala, Hispaniola, Porto Rico, and Cuba—are less complete than those for New Spain and Peru. For one thing, they were less carefully audited, or often not audited at all. The ledgers for some years, moreover, have disappeared altogether, while in those that have come down to us the items of receipt and expenditure are frequently either lacking, or so confused as to be impossible of reasonable interpretation. New Granada, ultimately the most important of these colonies, was not occupied by the Spaniards till 1538. Between that year and 1557 the Crown received as royalties from the mines and gold-washings about 573,700 pesos. Native tribute, which does not appear as a source of revenue till ten years after the conquest, amounted in the decade from 1547 to 1557 to nearly 21,000 pesos. In the same period the income from judicial fines was

about 6,000 pesos, and from ecclesiastical tithes, which in America were frequently collected and distributed by the Crown, perhaps twice that amount.⁶ In the captaincy-general of Guatemala, including most of Central America, during the first twenty years (1529-49) royalties on the precious metals produced an average of somewhat over 12,000 pesos a year. But after 1550 this rapidly dwindled, becoming of much less importance to the exchequer than the Indian tribute. The latter provided annually about 16,400 pesos.⁷ In Porto Rico the gold-washings apparently reached their maximum about 1516, when the *quinto* netted 47,500 pesos for the king.⁸ For a few years gold was also extracted on the king's own account, but it rarely amounted to more than three or four thousand pesos. The figures available for Cuba and Hispaniola cover only the years when gold production was rapidly declining, and the *quinto* (or *diezmo*, as it soon became in these islands) yielded but a few thousand a year. In the first half of the sixteenth century, however, San Domingo was still one of the principal ports of entry in the West Indies, and the *almojarifazgo* a source of considerable income. It rose from over eleven thousand a year between 1520 and 1525, to twenty-six thousand in the decade 1535-1545, and to forty-one thousand in the decade 1550-1560.⁹ After 1550 placer mining in the West Indies virtually ceased, and as the aboriginal population had died out or was killed off in little more than a generation, there was soon no such thing as Indian tribute. The islands also suffered all the misfortunes due to bad governors, absentee bishops, landlords, etc., and it was not long before receipts failed to meet the ordinary expenses of government.

Of even greater interest to the student of Spanish colonial history than the receipts of the various American treasurers, is an idea of how these moneys were expended. A large amount was of course shipped to Spain. The proportion this bore to the

⁶ *Ibid.*, 8-4-1/15.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 5-6-1/28.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Patronato Real, 2-2-1/19.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 6-3-1/13; 6-3-2/14.

entire receipts was greater in the first quarter of the sixteenth century than later. At first, when colonization centered in the West Indian Islands and the organization of government was comparatively simple, far the greater part of the royal income seems to have reached the king. But after the creation of the viceroyalties on the mainland, the expenses of administration became much heavier, and in spite of the discovery of rich mineral deposits, in the sixteenth century probably consumed fifty per cent of the revenues. Toward the close of the seventeenth century, when the military expenditures of the viceroyalties were very high, they consumed eighty per cent or more. In the reigns of Charles V. and Philip II., however, it seems to have been understood that all the *quinto* was reserved for the king's use, and in the long run the shipments to Spain were approximately equal to the income from that tax. Local needs, therefore, had to be met with revenue from other sources.

An analysis of the ledgers of Juan Alonso de Sosa, treasurer of New Spain between June, 1544 and December, 1549, provides an illustration of the credit side of the colonial exchequer accounts. Juan Alonso's papers are unusually full, and the items they contain quite typical of the treasury records both of New Spain and of other provinces. During these five and a half years the total receipts were 1,518,340 pesos. The largest disbursements were for the civil list, for military purposes, and in the form of remittances to the king. Of the latter, about 13,250 pesos in gold and 132,000 pesos in silver were sent as bullion; but in the same years over 450,000 pesos were paid out by royal order to Bernaldino de Mendoza, captain-general of the "*galeras despana*,"¹⁰ for the maintenance of his ships, and this sum should be included in the revenues received by the Crown. There should also be added about 5,800 pesos paid to colonists or to Spanish merchants whose remittances from America had been taken by the king in exchange for orders upon the Mexican treasury. The entire amount which the Crown drew from New Spain in these years was, therefore, over 600,000 pesos.

¹⁰ The term "*galeras de España*" usually referred to the Spanish naval forces in the Mediterranean, but it is possible that in this instance the "*galeras*" comprised a squadron convoying merchantmen across the Atlantic.

The civil list required in all 304,000 pesos, about half of which went to pay the salaries of the viceroy, judges, attorneys-general, treasury officials and minor placemen in the capital city. The rest was absorbed by the provinces, in the salaries of *corregidores*, *alcaldes mayores*, priests and other local officers. It also included annual payments of 500,000 *maravedis* each to the bishops of Oaxaca and Mechoacán, the tithes of whose dioceses were evidently collected by the king's officials. New Spain was then under the rule of its first viceroy, Don Antonio de Mendoza. His annual salary was 6,000 ducats,¹¹ 3,000 of which he received as viceroy and 3,000 as president of the supreme court or *audiencia*. He also drew 2,000 ducats additional for the maintenance of a horse and foot guard, which at that time consisted of a captain, ten horsemen and twenty footmen. The salary of the second viceroy, Luis de Velasco, who came out in 1550, was increased to 10,000 ducats. The judges or *oidores* of the *audiencia* received 500,000 *maravedis* a year, or 1,333 ducats, which was also the salary of the *Contador de Cuentas*, or auditor of the royal exchequer. The treasurer and comptroller of the exchequer received 510,000 *maravedis* apiece, the *Veedor* or inspector-general 390,000 *maravedis*, and the royal factor 170,000 *maravedis*. To the *Fiscal*, or attorney-general of the *audiencia*, was paid 150,000 *maravedis*, and to the captain of the arsenal 100,000 *maravedis*. High officials were likewise frequently given an *ayuda de costa* toward their living and traveling expenses.

The salary of a *corregidor* ranged from 100 to 380 pesos, according to the size of the *corregimiento* and its political importance. Parish priests received about 150–170 pesos a year, and *alguaciles* or constables 100–140 pesos. Salaries seem to have been generally somewhat lower in 1544 than ten years earlier.¹²

¹¹ A ducat was worth 375 *maravedis*, a silver peso 272 *maravedis*.

¹² In Peru the Marquis Pizarro's salary as governor was approximately 3,000 ducats, to which was added the "veintena." This seems to have been one-twentieth of the annual revenue from the royal estates, and in 1534 amounted to about as much as the governor's salary. Pizarro's stipend, therefore, was practically that of the first Mexican viceroy. His successor, the licentiate

The receipts from judicial fines and confiscations (*penas de cámara*) between 1544 and 1549 aggregated 22,348 pesos. There were paid out from this fund in the same time 20,340 pesos, virtually all in the form of gifts to monasteries, members of the Council of the Indies, officials of the Casa de Contratación at Seville, and to other servants of the king. *Ayudas de costa* to various members of the India Council, probably in recompense for special services in connection with their conciliar functions, were frequent, and usually given in sums of 150,000 *maravedís*. But other orders upon the *penas de cámara* were much more diversified: to the prior and brothers of the Augustinian monastery in Mexico City 165½ pesos for the purchase of books for the conventual library; to the same monastery 115 ducats to redeem certain books and a silver monstrance held in pledge in Seville; to Juan Vasquez de Molina, one of the king's secretaries, a grant of 1,650 pesos; to Captain Juan de Salazar, for services in the conquest of the provinces of the Rio de la Plata, 496 pesos; to the comptroller of the Casa de Contratación in 1548, 300 ducats, and to the treasurer in the same year, 450 ducats; to Miguel López de Legaspi, later celebrated as the conqueror of the Philippine Islands, for his services as secretary in New Spain to the royal *visitador*, Francisco Tello de Sandoval, 127 ducats; etc.¹³

Under the rubric, "*gastos extraordinarios*," were many expenditures of a similar nature to the above, but made by royal order presumably from the general funds of the exchequer. Such, for

Vaca de Castro, received 1,775,000 *maravedís*, or 4,733 ducats, a year. The judges of the *audiencia* at Lima were paid at first 800,000 *maravedís*, the treasurer, comptroller and factor of the royal exchequer 130,000 each. Before the middle of the century these figures had been raised to 900,000 and 510,000 respectively. In 1554 the viceroy's salary was fixed at 40,000 ducats, that of the judges rising to 1,350,000 *maravedís*, and of the exchequer officials to 900,000 *maravedís*. *Corregidores* in the Indian villages received about as much as in New Spain.

¹³ Grants of money out of the treasury of New Spain to courtiers, grandees, and members of the royal family (*i.e.*, Duke of Alba, Marquis of Mondejar, Duchess of Gandia, Queen of Bohemia, etc.) became increasingly frequent in the second half of the sixteenth century, and in the decade 1553-1563 amounted to 238,500 pesos.

instance, were 1,650 pesos a year for two years to Juan Gómez de Almacan, "*mayordomo*" of the college of Santiago in Mexico City, toward the support of eighty pupils and for books and vestments. Later there appears another grant to the same institution of 730 pesos. Five hundred pesos went to the purchase of beds and other necessities in a hospital founded in the same city for the poor suffering from "*mal de las bubas*." To Don Pedro, son of the fallen Aztec "emperor," Montezuma, was paid a pension of 100 pesos a year. Two grants of 82 pesos, 6 reals, each were made to Diego Muñoz, who was manager of the "*hato de las vacas*" belonging to his Majesty; 3,733 pesos were paid to the treasurer of the colony to cover the cost of transporting household effects to Mexico City from Vera Cruz; 16 pesos, 4 reals to a ship-captain for the passage of two friars and their belongings, presumably from Spain; etc. Finally, there were numerous gifts of wine and oil to the Dominican, Franciscan, and Augustinian orders, and sometimes of bells and vessels for the altar. Thus 1,008 pesos went to the Franciscans for the purchase of 252 *arrobas* of oil (over 900 gallons), required in one year by the 42 monasteries already existing in New Spain; while the Augustinians received 702 pesos a year for three years for the 102 *arrobas* of oil and 48 *arrobas* of wine used annually in their 16 establishments. Over 16,000 pesos were also contributed by the king in these years toward the construction of the great Augustinian monastery in the capital city.¹⁴

When Pedro de la Gasca was designated to go out to Peru and compose the civil discords which had rent the colony since the first days of the conquest, he called upon the authorities in New Spain for aid against the rebels, and in 1547 a small expedition of men and ships was in course of preparation. The order was rescinded by Gasca before the year was out, but not before large sums had been expended, involving a considerable strain upon the exchequer. In all about 192,500 pesos were consumed, for munitions, provisions, and in aid of the officers and men who

¹⁴ During the next four years, 1550-1553, over 22,000 pesos were contributed to the same pious object.

volunteered for the enterprise.¹⁵ This amount, added to the 450,000 contributed to the "*galeras despana*," brings the total for military and naval expenditure to 643,000 pesos.

After the promulgation by Charles V. in 1542-43 of the celebrated New Laws, abolishing the slavery and in large measure the serfdom of the American aborigines, many of the colonists were deprived of their sole source of income. The original *conquistadores*, companions of Cortés, and their sons were regarded as possessing a peculiar claim upon the liberality of the government, and the *audiencia* came to their rescue with annuities charged upon the tribute which the Crown collected from the confiscated *encomiendas*. These pensions varied between 50 and 300 pesos a year, there being but one grant of as much as 500 pesos, to a certain Rodrigo de Castaneda. Altogether about 76,000 pesos were paid out by the Mexican treasurer on this account. Over 64,000 pesos were also distributed in small sums to other needy persons who it seems had performed services for the government, or had been promised minor offices by the Crown, but were unprovided for because the demand had outrun the supply. The total disbursements of Alonso de Sosa in these five and a half years were over 1,335,000 pesos.

Comparing the foregoing figures with those of the Mexican exchequer 150 years later (1688-96), we find that in the latter period the disbursements were about 14½ million pesos. The civil list, including ecclesiastical charges, required 2,300,000 pesos, and military and naval expenditures for the colony 1,700,000 pesos; while the subsidies drawn from Mexico for the maintenance of garrisons in Cuba, Hispaniola, Porto Rico, Florida, and the Philippines (none of these regions being self-supporting) consumed six millions more. As already stated, there were sent to the king 926,000 pesos in coin and bullion, but a million and a half were also paid out on warrants issued by the Crown in Spain. The king's share was therefore a trifle less than 2½ million pesos.¹⁶

¹⁵ Guatemala spent over 37,000 *pesos de minas*, New Granada about 12,500, and Hispaniola a like amount, in the sending of ships and men to the aid of Gasca in his Peruvian campaign.

¹⁶ See Note 4.

The history of the Spanish colonial exchequer deserves a volume in itself. The writer has not had time or opportunity to examine in detail the records in Seville beyond 1560. But if those of the 250 years following were analyzed in somewhat similar fashion, we might have a picture of Spanish colonial society and government such as could scarcely be secured in any other way. That the organization of the royal *hacienda* changed appreciably under the later Hapsburgs there is no evidence. New taxes were added as the monarchy became progressively more impoverished. Monopolies of playing cards, pepper, salt, and finally of tobacco, were created; the sale of public offices, and the extraction of "benevolences" from the king's colonial subjects, became more and more general, and pernicious in their effects; the *alcabala* was extended to the colonies by Philip II., and the *mesada* and *media anata*, taxes analagous to the medieval papal annates, were imposed on ecclesiastical and secular officials by his grandson, Philip IV. In the meantime the colonies themselves, on the mainland at least, had increased in numbers and wealth, and the income of the colonial governments, as we have seen, became many times greater. But so also did the expenses of the complex ecclesiastical and political administration, and of the extravagant viceregal court. In the eighteenth century, with the more efficient management introduced by a new dynasty and the opening of fresh silver deposits in Mexico, the Crown obtained from America a more lucrative income. In the decade 1768-1777 over ten million pesos were transmitted to Cadiz from New Spain as the proceeds of the tobacco monopoly alone.

C. H. HARING.

THE ITURBIDE REVOLUTION IN THE CALIFORNIAS

The documents here printed record the steps by which the temporary Iturbide régime was installed in the two Californias in 1822. The story which they tell is illustrative of one phase of the Guerra de la Independencia as it affected two frontier Spanish provinces.

In February, 1821, Iturbide proclaimed Mexican independence; in August the treaty of Córdoba was signed; and in September the Imperial Regency was formed. Concerning the allegiance of the Californias there were misgivings in Mexico. Antonio Andrade, Intendant of Guadalajara, gave a report to the Regency on the state of these provinces, in which he expressed the fear that because of their isolation and neglect they would be seized by some foreign power.¹ Uneasiness over Alta California was increased by the rumor that Russian war vessels had assembled at Bodega Bay, and that the province actually had placed itself under the protection of that power.² Moreover, Governor Solá was under suspicion, and the attitude of the missionaries was not certain. From the beginning of his administration Solá had been an earnest demonstrative royalist and as late as January, 1822, he referred to the revolution as the work of "dreamers" and destined to fail.³ Under these circumstances a special commissioner was sent to the Californias to help secure allegiance, establish the new system, and effect certain changes in the management of the missions. To perform this delicate task, choice was made of Canon Agustín Fernández de San Vicente, of the Cathedral of Durango. If the governors

¹ In the Archivo General y Público, Sección de Provincias Internas, Vol. 23, no. 4. See Bolton, *Guide to . . . the Archives of Mexico*, p. 88.

² See below, doc. no. 9.

³ Bancroft, *History of California*, II., 450.

should not fall in line he was empowered to remove them and appoint others.⁴

Owing to various delays Fernández did not reach Loreto, the capital of Lower California, until June, 1822, by which time the revolution, in its outward features, had been accomplished in both provinces, with few of the difficulties which had been anticipated. In the Peninsula, indeed, Fernández found on his arrival that, through the interference of "a certain José María López," the revolution had already gone too far, "confusing the ideas of liberty with those of license, setting these people in motion, with an absurd and discordant election of an ayuntamiento, and the formation of local companies . . . upsetting ideas to such an extent that some of the soldiers and citizens now denied obedience to the governor and the officers."⁵ Fernández accordingly annulled the acts of López, installed a new ayuntamiento at Loreto, and required new oaths of allegiance—the third series enacted by these now somewhat bewildered "new citizens." The situation in Lower California was complicated by the resignation of Governor Argüello and the death of the President of the missions, Father Antonio Sánchez. In regard to his mission reforms Fernández encountered opposition, but that episode falls outside the purview of the documents here published.

In Alta California things went off even more smoothly. The distrust of Solá proved to be groundless, for he fell in with the current of events with apparent enthusiasm. Early in March, Solá received despatches from Mexico requiring the allegiance of California to the *Imperio Mexicano* and announcing the forthcoming assemblage of the Cortes. To meet the situation Solá summoned to Monterey the *comandantes* of the four presidios, Father Payeras, as representative of the missions, and Father Sarriá, as representative of Fr. José Señán, *Presidente Vicario Foráneo*, and several other prominent men.

⁴ The documents concerning his appointment are in the Archivo General y Público, Mexico, Sección de Provincias Internas, vol. 23. See Bolton, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

⁵ Fernández to the Minister of Relations, July 9, 1822 (doc. no. 26).

The Junta assembled on April 9 at the *sala de gobierno*, where oaths of allegiance were taken by Solá, the four presidial commanders, the captains of the Mazatlan and San Blas companies stationed in Alta California, and Father Payeras. On the 11th the oath of allegiance was taken in public by Solá, the missionaries, the officers of the garrisons, and "all the citizenship," "the solemn act being concluded with a majestic church service, prolonged *vivas*, repeated volleys of musketry and cannon, music, illuminations, and whatever was thought appropriate to the complete celebration of so fortunate a day."⁶ Two days later Solá reported to the Minister of Relations that the act of allegiance had been celebrated "with all the magnificence and grandeur of which this poor Territory is capable."⁷ Within the next few days the oath was taken at Santa Bárbara, San Diego, San Francisco, the three pueblos, and the various missions, everywhere without difficulty.⁸

On May 21 an election was held of a deputy to the Mexican Cortes. The electoral body which met at the *sala de gobierno*, at Monterey, consisted of Solá, José María Estudillo, *teniente* of the cavalry company at Monterey, J. M. Estrada, *alférez* of the same, Manuel Gómez, *teniente* and *alférez* of the artillery company at Monterey, and five electors from the *partidos* whose centers were San Francisco, Monterey, Santa Bárbara, Los Angeles, and San Diego, the electors in each case representing the Indians of the missions as well as the other settlements within the *partidos*. The outcome of the election was the choice of Solá as deputy, and of Luís Antonio Argüello, Captain at San Francisco, as substitute. In view of the fact that California was "ultramarina," and that the deputies must await a vessel from San Blas or Acapulco, and could not reach Mexico during the current year, the instructions given to Solá and Argüello were to hold for the two following years, if permissible.⁹

⁶ Certificate by José M. Estudillo, secretary (doc. no. 2).

⁷ Solá to Herrera, April 13, 1822 (doc. no. 5).

⁸ Bancroft, *History of California*, II. 451-453. Solá reported on April 13 by the monthly courier *via* Loreto; on May 5 by special courier *via* Tucson, and again on July 3 *via* Tucson (Solá to Herrera, July 3 (doc. no. 21).

⁹ Certificate of election, May 21, 1822 (doc. no. 8).

All this had taken place long before Canon Fernández arrived at Monterey, an event which did not occur till late in September. His doings there fall outside the scope of the documents here published.

An incidental result of the revolution was a quickening of interest at the Mexican capital in the fate of remote Alta California, and efforts to improve communication with the province by way of Tucson and the Gila River, a route which had been practically cut off by the Yuma uprising in 1781, a few years after it had been opened by Anza and his associates.

The documents, here published for the first time, constitute an *expediente* in the Archivo General y Público, Mexico, Sección de Californias, vol. 45, no. 17. They are presented here in a chronological order instead of that of the archive file.¹⁰ The title of the *expediente* applies to more than one group of papers and is not borne out by the contents of this group. It is but just to add that Dr. Robertson, managing editor of the REVIEW, prepared the translation of the documents.

HERBERT E. BOLTON.

SOBRE RESISTENCIA DE LOS MISIONEROS DE AMBAS
CALIFORNIAS Á JURAR LA INDEPENDENCIA.
CUADERNO.¹¹ 2.º

1. ACT OF RECOGNITION OF THE IMPERIAL GOVERNMENT AND OF INDEPENDENCE, MONTEREY, APRIL 9, 1822

Acta celebrada en la Capital de la N.^{va} California

En el Presidio de Monterey á Nueve dias del mes de Abril de mil, ochocientos Veinte y dos: El S.^{or} Gobernador Militar y Politico de

¹⁰ Related documents are found in the same archive, Sección de Californias, vol. 44, no. 5, and vol. 45, no. 1; Sección de Provincias Internas, vol. 23, nos. 4 and 5; Sección de Justicia (Eclesiástica) vol. 28; and in the Secretaría de Gobernación, Old Records, legajo 1825 (See Bolton, *Guide to . . . the Archives of Mexico*, pp. 88, 157, 158, 180, 338). Other related documents are contained in the Bancroft Library. Their character is indicated by the footnotes in Bancroft's *History of California*, II., 450-464.

¹¹ The manuscript bears the following endorsements: Año de 1822. Secretaría de Estado. Seccion de Gob.^{no} N. 320. Ocurrencias notables n.º 2 f.º

esta Provincia Coronel D.ⁿ Pablo Vicente de Sola: los Señores Capitanes de los Presidios, y territorios de S.^{ta} Barbara, y San Francisco D.ⁿ Jose Antonio de la Guerra, y Noriega y D.ⁿ Luis Antonio Arguello: los Capitanes de las Compañías de Milicias de los Batallones de Tepic y Mazatlan D.ⁿ Jose Antonio Navarrete, y D. Pablo de la Portilla. El Teniente D.ⁿ Jose Maria Estudillo por la Comp.^a del Presidio de S.ⁿ Diego: El Teniente graduado D.ⁿ Jose Mariano Estrada, por la q. guarnece este de Monterey: el Teniente graduado de Artilleria D.ⁿ Manuel Gomez Comandante de su Arma, y los R.^s P.^s Fr. Mariano Payeras, y Sr. Vicente Fran.^{co} de Sarria, el primero como Prelado de estas Misiones y el segundo como substituto del R. P. Presidente Vicario foraneo Fr. Jose Señan Reunidos por medio de anteriores convocatorias en la Sala de este Gobierno, y savedores de la feliz instalacion de la Regencia del Ymperio, y Soberana Junta provisional gobernatiba en la Capital de Mexico por los Oficios, y demas documentos que el expresado Señor Gobernador hizo leer en Plena Junta. Dixerón: que por sí, y sus Subordinados estaban decididos á dar cumplimiento a las ordenes que intimaba el nuevo Supremo Gobierno, reconociendo desde luego esta Provincia por solo dependiente del Gobierno del Ymperio Mexicano é independiente de la dominacion Española, y de qualquiera otra Potencia extranjera, en cuya virtud devia procederse al correspondiente Juramento en los terminos pre-scriptos por la Regencia Gobernadora interina, p.^a cuyo efecto deven darse las oportunas providencias, por el enunciado Gefe Superior militar y Politico, y los Comandantes respectivos de Presidios, y Ministros de las Misiones haran constar su cumplimiento p.^r medio de Certifacaciones q. se remitiran con copia de esta acta al Exmo. Sor. Ministro a quien corresponda; y lo firmaron. = Pablo Vicente de Sola. = José de la Guerra, y Noriega. = Luis Antonio Arguello. = José Antonio Navarrete. = Pablo de la Portilla. = Jose Maria Estudillo. = Jose Mariano Estrada. = Manuel Gomez. = Fr. Mariano Payeras. = Fr. Vicente Francisco de Sarria. = Jose Maria Estudillo Vocal Secretario. Es copia.¹²

SOLA (rúbrica).

155. Lib. 1.^o polit n.^o 49. v. [Translation:] "Year 1922. Office of the Secretary of State. Section on Government. Number 320. Notable events. Number 2. Folio 155. Book 1. Political number 49 verso." The translation of the above title is as follows: On the resistance of the Missionaries of both Californias to taking the Oath of Independence. Section 2d.

¹² A triplicate of this document, filed on folio 45 of the expediente, is not reproduced here.

[TRANSLATION]

Meeting held in the capital of New California

In the Presidio of Monterey, on the ninth day of the month of April, of one thousand eight hundred and twenty-two, the Military and Political Governor of this Province, Colonel Don Pablo Vicente de Sola, the Captains of the Presidios and Territories of Santa Barbara and San Francisco, Don Jose Antonio de la Guerra y Noriega and Don Luis Antonio Arguello, the Captains of the Militia Companies of the battalions of Tepic and Mazatlan, Don Jose Antonio Navarrete and Don Pablo de la Portilla, Lieutenant Don Jose Maria Estudillo for the Company of the Presidio of San Diego, Lieutenant by brevet, Don Jose Mariano Estrada, for the Company in garrison at this Presidio of Monterey, Lieutenant by brevet, of artillery, Don Manuel Gomez, Commandant of his branch of the service, and the Reverend Fathers Fray Mariano Payeras and Señor Vicente Francisco de Sarria, the first as Prelate of these missions and the second as the substitute of the Reverend Father President Vicar foraneo, Fray Jose Señan, having assembled in the assembly hall of this Government, in response to previous summonses, and having been informed of the felicitous installation of the Regency of the Empire and the sovereign provisional administrative Council in the Capital of Mexico, by means of the official despatches and other documents which the aforesaid Governor had read aloud before the full assembly, declared: that both for themselves and for their subordinates they were resolved to obey the orders published by the new Supreme Government, and that they recognized thenceforth that this Province was dependent alone on the Government of the Mexican Empire and independent of Spanish control, or of that of any other foreign power whatsoever. In virtue of this they declared that they ought to proceed to take the proper oath in the terms prescribed by the provisional governing Regency. For this purpose, fitting measures should be issued by the aforesaid superior Military and Political Chief, and the respective commandants of the presidios and the ministers of the missions should attest their obedience by means of certificates to be sent with a copy of these proceedings to his Excellency, the proper minister. They affixed their signatures: Pablo Vicente de Sola. José de la Guerra y Noriega. Luis Antonio Arguello. José Antonio Navarrete. Pablo de la Portilla. Jose Maria Estudillo. Jose Mariano Estrada. Manuel Gomez. Fray Mariano

Payeras. Fray Vicente Francisco de Sarria. Jose Maria Estudillo, secretary with vote.

SOLA (rubric).

2. CERTIFICATE OF ACT OF ALLEGIANCE AND ITS CELEBRATION,
MONTEREY, APRIL 11, 1822

En el Presidio de Monterey á once dias del mes de Abril del año de Mil ochosientos Veinte y dos Certifico Yo, el infrascripto Vocal Secretario, q. previas las disposiciones preventivas q. ordena la Regencia del Ymperio consequente a lo mandado por la Soberana Junta provisional gubernatiba se Juró hoy en esta Capital de la Nueva California la Yndependencia del Ymperio por el Gefe militar y Politico de ella, por los Señores, y R.^a Padres que firmaron el Acta en que se acordó la ovediencia al nuevo Supremo Gobierno, por los Señores Oficiales, y Tropa de la Guarnicion, y finalm.^{te} por todo su vecindario, concluyendo tan solemne acto con una magestuosa funcion de Yglesia, continuos vivos, Salvas repetidas de Fusil, y Cañon, Musica, Yluminaciones, y quanto se creyó conducente a la completa celebridad de tan fausto dia =Jose Maria Estudillo. Vocal Secretario. Es copia.¹³

SOLA (rúbrica).

[TRANSLATION]

Number 2

In the Presidio of Monterey, on the eleventh day of the month of April, of the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty-two, I, the undersigned secretary with vote, certify that, after the previously prepared resolutions ordered by the Regency of the Empire in consequence of the mandate of the sovereign provisional administrative Council, the Independence of the Empire was sworn to this day in this Capital of New California by its Military and Political Chief, by the gentlemen and Reverend Fathers who signed these proceedings, whereby obedience was accorded to the new Supreme Government, by the officers and troops of the garrison, and finally by all the inhabitants, this very solemn act being concluded with a majestic church service, prolonged *vivas*, repeated volleys of musketry and cannon, music, illuminations, and whatever was thought appropriate to the

¹³ A triplicate of this document, filed on folio 45 of the expediente, is not reproduced here.

complete celebration of so fortunate a day. Jose Maria Estudillo, secretary with vote.

SOLA (rubric).

3. JOSÉ PESQUEIRA TO ITURBIDE, GUAYMAS, APRIL 12, 1822

Reservado

Sor Generalísimo Almirante.

En Cumplimiento del Superior oficio de V. A. S. de 6. de Febrero Ultimo en que me pide una noticia fidedigna á serca de la conducta obserbada por el Gobernador de la Alta California D.^ñ Pablo Vicente Sola, devo decirle, que no tengo conocimiento ninguno de dicho Gobernador ni aun siquiera hé hoido ablar bien ni mal de su conducta ó modos de proceder por que la Comunicacion de este Puerto con la expresada California es muy dilatada y escasa; pero si en lo Subsicibo tuviese algunas noticias, tendré particular Cuidado de Comunicarlas á V. A. S. á la mayor pocible brevedad.

Dios gue. á V. A. S. m. a. Puerto de Guaymas 12. de Abril de 1822.

JOSÉ PESQUEIRA (rúbrica).

[TRANSLATION]

Secret

Commander-in-chief of the fleet:

In obedience to the superior official despatch of your exalted Lordship, of the 6th of last February, in which you ask me for a faithful report in regard to the conduct observed by the Governor of Alta California, Don Pablo Vicente Sola, I must inform you that I have no knowledge of the said Governor, nor have I even heard any one speak in good or ill terms of his conduct or method of acting, for communication of this port with the aforesaid California is very slow and limited. But should I have any news in the future, I shall take particular care to communicate them to your exalted Lordship at the very first opportunity.

May God preserve your exalted Lordship many years. Port of Guaymas, April 12, 1822.

Commanding Admiral of the fleet.

JOSÉ PESQUEIRA (rubric).

4. SOLÁ TO THE MINISTER OF RELATIONS, MONTEREY, APRIL 13, 1822
N. 2

Exmo. Señor.

Por el Superior oficio de V. E. de 6 de octubre ultimo quedo enterado de la justa eleccion que para Ministro del Ymperio ha hecho la Suprema Regencia Governadora interina nombrando para la Secretaria de negocios y relacion^s interior^s y exterior^s a V. E. para la de justicia y negocios ecclesiasticos a el Exmo Sor D. Jose Dominguez: para la de Guerra con encargo de la de Marina a el Exmo Sr D. Antonio Medina: y para la de hacienda a el Exmo Sr. D. Rafael Perez Maldonado cuya noticia he comunicado a todos los Juezes ecclesiasticos Militares y politicos de esta Provincia como V. E. previene en el citado Superior oficio a que respondo.¹⁴

Dios gue a V. E. m.^s a.^s Monterey de la N. California 13 de Abril de 1822.

Exmo S.^{or}

PABLO VIZENTE DE SOLA (rúbrica).

[Addressed:] Exmo Sor D. Jose Manuel Herrera Mntro Secretario de negocios y relacion.^s inter^s y exter.^s

[TRANSLATION]

Number 2

Your Excellency:

I am informed by your Excellency's superior despatch of the 6th of last October of the just choice which the provisional superior administrative Regency has made for the Minister of the Empire, in appointing your Excellency to the portfolio of Domestic and Foreign Affairs and Relations, his Excellency Don Jose Dominguez, to the portfolio of Justice and Ecclesiastical Affairs; his Excellency, Don Antonio Medina, to the portfolio of War and that of the Navy; and his Excellency Don Rafael Perez Maldonado, to the portfolio of the Treasury. I have communicated this information to all the ecclesiastical, military, and political judges of this province, as is directed in your Excellency's aforesaid superior despatch to which I bow.

¹⁴ A duplicate of this document, sent via Tucson and filed as folio 14 of the expediente, is omitted.

May God preserve your Excellency many years. Monterey, New California, April 13, 1822.

Your Excellency,

PABLO VICENTE DE SOLA (rubric).

[Addressed:] His Excellency, Don Jose Manuel Herrera, Secretary of Domestic and Foreign Affairs and Relations.

5. SOLÁ TO THE MINISTER OF RELATIONS, MONTEREY, APRIL 13, 1822

N. 1. Duplicado.

Exmo Sor.

Consequente a las Soberanas disposiciones que incluyen los dos Ympresos que V. E. dirijio a este Gobierno, uno sin fecha y otro con la de 10 del ultimo octubre, tengo el honor de presentar a V. E. como primicias de mi obediencia a el Nuevo Ymperio y de la de estas Tropas y havitantes un fiel traslado con el numero 1. del Acta tenida en la Sala de este Gobierno el 9 del Corriente en que se acordo el debido y justo reconocimiento, de la Yndependencia de esta Provincia que me esta confiada a toda dominacion que no sea la del Ymperio Mexicano y en consecuencia se determino para el dia 11 el Solemne juramento que se hizo en efecto en esta Capital por mi y cuantos la habitan con toda la magnifisencia y grandiosidad en que es Capaz este pobre Territorio de cuyo acto acompaño con numero 2. el Documento comprobante asi como lo hare oportunamente con las que reciba de los demas Lugares de esta Provincia para que subsesibamente tenga V. E. la Vondad de alearle a la Suprema Regencia Gobernadora interina para la satisfaccion mia y de estas Tropas.

Dios gue a V. E. m.^a a.^a Monterey en la N. California 13 de Abril de 1822.

Exmo Sor.

PABLO VIZENTE DE SOLA (rúbrica).

[Addressed:] Exmo Sor D. Jose Manuel Herrera Mintro de Relaciones interiores y exteriores del Ymperio Mexicano.

[In the margin:] Duplicado en 5. de Mayo de 1822. y dirijido por el Comandante del Presidio del Tucson en la Provincia de Sonora Capitan Graduado D. Jose Romero.

[TRANSLATION]

Number.1. Duplicate

Your Excellency:

In consequence of the sovereign orders contained in the two pamphlets sent by your Excellency to this Government, one of which was

undated, and the other of which bore the date of the 10th of last October, I have the honor to present to your Excellency as the first fruits of my obedience to the new Empire, and of the obedience of these troops and inhabitants, a faithful copy in number 1, of the proceedings held in the Government Hall on the 9th of the present month, when there was accorded the due and just recognition of the Independence of this Province under my charge of all domination other than that of the Mexican Empire; and in consequence the 11th day was set for the taking of the solemn oath of allegiance (which in fact was taken in this capital) by myself and by all the inhabitants with all the magnificence and grandeur of which this poor Territory is capable. Of that act, in number 2, I enclose the attesting document, and I shall do the same in due course with those which I may receive from the other places of this Province, so that thereupon your Excellency may have the goodness to send them to the provisional supreme administrative Regency for my gratification and that of these troops.

May God preserve your Excellency many years. Monterey, New California, April 13, 1822.

Your Excellency,

PABLO VIZENTE DE SOLA (rubric).

[Addressed:] His Excellency, Don Jose Manuel Herrera, Minister of Domestic and Foreign Relations of the Mexican Empire.

[In the margin:] Duplicated, May 5, 1822, and sent by the Commandant of the Presidio of Tucson in the Province of Sonora, Captain by brevet, Don Jose Romero.

6. CERTIFICATE OF OATH OF ALLEGIANCE, SAN DIEGO, APRIL 24, 1822

D.^{na} Pablo de la Portilla Capitan de la 3^a Comp.^a de Mazatlan y Comand.^{te} de la Partida de sien hombres q^e residen en esta Provincia.

Certifico q.^e el dia 23 del Coriente se juro p.^r la Tropa de mi cargo la Yndependencia del Ymperio Mexicano y p.^a que Conste doy p^r Duplicado la presente Certificacion en este Precidio de S.^{na} Diego á 24 de Abril de 1822.

PABLO DE LA PORTILLA (rúbrica).

[TRANSLATION]

Don Pablo de Portilla, Captain of the 3d Company of Mazatlan and Commandant of the force of one hundred men residing in this Province.

I certify that, on the 23d day of the present month, the troops under my command took the oath of allegiance in recognition of the Independence of the Mexican Empire; and in order that the same may be evident, I make the present attestation in duplicate in this Presidio of San Diego, April 24, 1822.

PABLO DE LA PORTILLA (rubric).

7. JOSÉ MANUEL RUÍZ TO GOV. JOSÉ ARGÜELLO, SAN VICENTE, MAY 17, 1822

S.^a Vicente 17 de Mayo de 1822.

S.^{or} Gov.^{or} D. Jose Arguello.

Muy S.^{or} mio de mi mayor veneracion y respectó. Muy atolondrado, i compunjado me a dejado su apreciable carta fha 15. del pasado Abril, aqui no hay mas S.^{or} Gov.^{or} que encoger los hombros y agachar la Caveza pues Dios lo a permitido agase Su boluntad. Ygualmente me es Sencivle el Saqueo que isieron de la poca ropa que tenia p.^a Cubrir sus carnes, y Sobre todo Sobre puja mi Sentimiento a los males que se le han agregado, y rogare al S.^{or} sin sesár por el restavlecimiento de su Salud, q es lo q nos interesa Yo aun sigo con mis males y estoy persuadido que la Sepoltura será la medecina p.^{ro} estoy Conforme.

Ya tengo dho a nuestra Tropa las providencias q. V. tiene tomadas p.^a Socorrer las precentes nesecidades, alg.^a se conforman, otros que tienen los Corasones mas duros guardan cilencio como dando a entender de q. dudan de lo que yo les digo.

Quedo impuesto, de lo acaecido en la Prov.^a por Meses de Febrero, y Marzo, y me remito a lo que digo arriva, solo añadir que Dios lo a permitido p.^a probar nuestra paciencia, y fedelidad.

Muy vien me parese el q. V. aiga jurado la Yndep.^a y la aiga mandado jurar en toda la Provincia de su mando (en la alta Calif.^a ya está jurado) y estoy con el Sentimiento de que yo e sido el ultimo, p.^{ro} puedo asegurar a V. que sere de los mas Obcerbantes, a las Ordenes de nuestro Generalisimo, si reencargo a V. el Socorro de la Tropa, mire V. que me temo una fuga q. agan p.^r el rio Colorado, y me dejan solo, V. cuidado en este asunto.

No hay duda S.^{or} Gov. ^{or} que V. abla como un profeta pues el mundo está todo rebuelto segun los Sup.^a Publicos q. e visto y para tranquilizar este Mundo, es nesecario de que Dios Nro S.^{or} ponga su mano Santisima, por que las manos de los Hombres no son Capaces de remediarlo.

Segun entiendo los P.^a Misioneros de Front.^a aguard.ⁿ la Ord.ⁿ de su Prelado p.^a jurarla, quien save si despues alg.^{no} se negará.

Me alegro sobre manera q. la Balandra q. se robaron los Soldados aiga varado a Masatlan.

Quedo vastante Consolado con lo q. me dice V. en su oficio fha 10. del anterior Abril, en que a luego que se tranquilisen las Cosas me proporcionará mi retiro, V. me dirá quando podré precentarmi Memorial; p.^{ro} Sarg^{to} Gastelum en quien tiene puesto V. los ojos p.^a el mando de esta Front.^a pienso q. lo hace quedar mal, por que lo veo resuelto á soltar primero la Caveza q. recibir primero mando alguno, Sirvale a V. de aviso.

El Cabo Remigio Osuna, hace dias q. me está pidiendo el bajar a esse punto, y de enfadado se lo e concedido, y este lleba la Correspondencia.

Supongo ya á V. restableciendose de sus marchas y Contra Marchas y mejorando de su salud, assi lo pedimos al S.^{or}

Reciba mi acostumbrado afecto, finas expreciones de Antonia y familia; agame V. el favor de comunicarselas á mi S.^{ra} D.^a Ygnacia, y demas S.^{ras} y entre tanto vea V. en que le puedo servir su mas apacionado subdito Q. B. S. M.

JOSE MAN.¹ RUIS (rúbrica).

[TRANSLATION]

San Vicente, May 17, 1822.

Sir Governor, Don Jose Arguello:

Dear Sir, and of my greatest veneration and respect: Your esteemed letter of the 15th of last April has left me mostly at my wit's end and full of remorse. Here, Señor Governor, there is nothing else to do than to shrug the shoulders and bow the head; since God has permitted it let His will be done. I am equally sensible of the pillaging that has been made of the little clothing which you had to cover your flesh, and above all, the evils that have been heaped upon you pass my understanding. I shall beseech the Lord without ceasing for the recovery of your health, for that is of importance to us. I also have my aches and pains and am persuaded that the grave will be the medicine. However, I am quite content.

I have already informed our troops of the measures taken by you to remedy present necessities. Some are agreed, but others, harder hearted, guard their silence as if to give me to understand that they doubt what I tell them.

I have full knowledge of what happened in the Province during the months of February and March, and refer you to what I say above. I shall simply add that God has permitted it to test our patience and faithfulness.

I am quite pleased that you have taken the oath of the Independence, and that you have ordered it taken throughout the Province under your command. It has already been taken in Alta California. I have a feeling that I am the last, but I can assure you that I shall be one of the most obedient to the orders of our commander-in-chief. If I recommend to you once more the relief for the troops you will understand that it is because I fear lest they flee by the Colorado River and leave me alone. Will you look after this matter?

There is no doubt, Sir Governor, that you speak as a prophet, for the world is quite turned upside down, according to the public punishments which I have seen; and that in order to pacify this world, it needs for God our Lord to place His very Holy hand, for the hands of men are incapable of remedying it.

According to what I hear, the Father Missionaries of the frontier are awaiting the order of their Prelate to take the oath. Who can tell whether any one will deny it afterwards?

I am glad beyond expression that the sloop which was stolen by the soldiers ran aground at Masatlan.

I am quite comforted by what you say in your official despatch of the 10th of last April, namely, that as soon as affairs quiet down, you will adjust my retirement. Will you tell me when I may present my memorial? But I think that Sergeant Gastelum, on whom you have cast your eyes for the command of this frontier, will serve it but ill, for I see that he is in a mind to take his head rather than to listen to the first order. Please watch out.

Corporal Remigio Osuna has been begging me for some days for leave to descend to that place, and growing wearied, I have given him permission to do so. He is carrying this correspondence.

I suppose that you are already recovering from your marches and countermarches, and improving in health. This we beseech of the Lord.

Accept my accustomed offerings of affection, and the regards of Antonia and the family. Please do me the favor to communicate them to my Lady, Doña Ygnacia and the other ladies. Meanwhile, let me know how your most devoted subject, who kisses your hands, can serve you.

JOSE MANUEL RUIS (rubric).

8. CERTIFICATE OF ELECTION OF SOLÁ AS DEPUTY OF THE CORTES,
MONTEREY, MAY 21, 1822

Triplicado.

En el Presidio de Monterey Capital de la Provincia de la Alta California, a veinte y un dias del mes de Mayo de mil ochocientos veinte y dos, Segundo de la Yndependencia: En la Sala de Gobierno, hallandose Congregados, el Gefe Politico de la misma, Coronel D.ⁿ Pablo Vicente de Sola, Teniente de la Compañia de Caballeria del citado D.ⁿ Jose M.^a Estudillo, el Alferez de la misma graduado de Teniente D. José Mariano Estrada, y el Teniente graduado y Alferez de Artilleria D.ⁿ Manuel Gomez citado antes dieron en union de los Sres Electores de Provincia, D. Francisco de Castro, Elector nombrado p.^r la Billa de Brancifort, Pueblo de S. Jose y las Misiones de S.ⁿ Francisco S.ⁿ Jose, Sta Clara, y Sta Cruz y D. Jose Arúz, p.^r el Presidio de Monterey y las Misiones de S.ⁿ Juan Bautista, S.ⁿ Carlos, Soledad, S.ⁿ Antonio, S.ⁿ Miguel y S.ⁿ Luis Obbpo: D.ⁿ Fran.^{co} de Ortega, p.^r el Presidio de Sta. Barbara, y la Mis^{on} nombrada asi, y las de S.ⁿ Buenaventura, S.ⁿ Fernando Sta Ynes, y la Purisima; D. Jose Palomares p.^r el Pueblo nombrado de Ntra Sra. de los Angeles, y a D.ⁿ Ygnacio Lopez, p.^r el Presidio de S.ⁿ Diego la Mis^{on} de igual nombre, y las de S.ⁿ Luis Rey S.ⁿ Juan Capistrano, y S.ⁿ Gabriel: Dixeron ante mi el infra-scripto Secretario, q.^o nombraban y nombraron p.^r Diputado para las Cortes Constituyentes del Ymperio, a dho S.^{or} Coronel D.ⁿ Pablo Vicente de Sola; y para su Suplente al Cap.ⁿ de la Comp.^a de Cavall^a del Presidio de S.ⁿ Francisco D.ⁿ Luis Antonio Arguello; y trasladan en su Persona la facultad y poder q.^o la confirieron los Ciudadanos q.^o componen los Pueblos y partidos de ella p.^r medio de sus respectivos Ayuntamientos para Cumplir y desempeñar las importantisimas funciones de su encargo, y para q.^o con los demas Diputados de Cortes en representacion de la Nacion Mexicana, todos sus Reynos Provinsias Partidos, Ciudades, Villas, Congregaciones, Pueblos, Barrios, Reducciones, Misiones, Haciendas, Ranchos, y Ciudadanos de todas Clases sin distincion alguna puedan acordar y resolver quanto entendiesen es condusente al bien general de ellas, y en uso de la facultad q.^o le han concedido Constituyan el Gobierno del Ymperio baxo las baces fundamentales del Plan de Yguala, y tratados de la Villa de Cordova, estableciendo la separacion absoluta del poder legislativo, del executivo, y judicial, para q.^o nunca pueda reunirse en una sola Persona, y q.^o los otorgantes, se obligan p.^a si mismos, y a nombre de

todos los Ciudadanos de ésta Provincia en Virtud de las facultades q.º les confirieron para el efecto como electores nombrados para éste Acto y tener p.º valido y obedecer, y cumplir, quanto como tales Diputados de Cortes hicieren y se resolvieren p.º estas Constituyentes del Gobierno de la Nacion Mexicana: que del mismo modo obligan. a los Ciudadanos de la Provincia á que las obedeceran en quanto dispongan y determinen respetando la Constitucion q.º establezcan como la Ley fundamental del Ympero, y q. en atencion á ser esta Provincia ultramarina y haber de esperar proporcion de Buque p.º embarcarse con destino á S.ª Blas ó Acapulco, y de alli pasar a la Ymperial de Mexico, y ser imposible de llegar a ella en el presente año, y lo mas pronto á principio del Siguiete; siendo adaptable a las Cortes: Valga el presente poder p.º los dos Subcesivos, y de lo contrario, se de aviso para la nueva eleccion de los q.º puedan sucederle asi lo expresaron y otorgaron mandando se de esta Credencial de su eleccion al S.º Coronel D. Pablo Vic.º de Sola y lo firmó con migo el mismo Sor con los Sres Electores.

Testigos de este Acto. =Francisco Castro =Jose Aruz =Francisco Ortega = Jose Palomares = Por no saber firmar D.ª Ygnacio Lopez hizo la Señal de la Sta Cruz Pablo Vicente de Sola =Jose Mariano Estrada =Manuel Gomez =Jose Maria Estudillo =Secretario.

Es Copia de su original de que Certifico Monterey 3. de Julio de 1822.

JOSE M.ª ESTUDILLO, Voc.º Secret.º (rúbrica).

[TRANSLATION]

Triplicate

In the Presidio of Monterey, the Capital of the Province of Alta California, on the twenty-first day of the month of May, of the year one thousand eight hundred and twenty-two, and the Second of Independence: There being assembled in the Government Hall the Political Chief of the said Province, Colonel Don Pablo Vicente de Sola, the lieutenant of the cavalry company of the above mentioned [Presidio of San Diego], Don Jose Maria Estudillo, the *alferez* of the same, lieutenant by brevet, Don Jose Mariano Estrada, and the lieutenant by brevet and *alferez* of artillery, Don Manuel Gomez, above mentioned, they agreed upon the electors of the Province, namely, Don Francisco de Castro, appointed elector for the town of Brancifort, the town of San Jose, and the Missions of San Francisco, San Jose, Santa Clara, and Santa Cruz; Don Jose Arúz, for the Presidio of

Monterey, and the Missions of San Juan Bautista, San Carlos, Soledad, San Antonio, San Miguel, and San Luis Obispo; Don Francisco de Ortega, for the Presidio of Santa Barbara, the Mission of the same name, and the Mission of San Buenaventura, San Fernando, Santa Ynes, and La Purisima; Don Jose Palomares, for the town called Nuestra Señora de los Angeles; Don Ygnacio Lopez, for the Presidio of San Diego, the Mission of the same name, and the Missions of San Luis Rey, San Juan Capistrano, and San Gabriel. They declared before me, the undersigned secretary, that they appointed and they did appoint as Deputy for the Constituent Cortes of the Empire the said Colonel Don Pablo Vicente de Sola; for his substitute, the captain of the cavalry company of the Presidio of San Francisco, Don Luis Antonio Arguello. And they transferred in their persons the authority and power conferred by the citizens comprising the towns and districts of the Province through their respective ayuntamientos, to execute and discharge the very important duties in their charge, and together with the other Deputies to the Cortes representing the Mexican Nation, and all its Kingdoms, Provinces, Districts, Cities, Villages, Congregations, Towns, Barrios, Reductions, Missions, Estates, Ranches, and Citizens of all Classes without any distinction whatsoever, to agree upon and resolve whatever they believe to be conducive to the general welfare of them. And in the enjoyment of the authority conceded to them, they may constitute the Government of the Empire upon the fundamental bases of the Plan of Iguala and the treaties of the Villa of Cordova, by establishing an absolute separation of legislative, executive, and judicial powers, so that they may never more be united in one single person. The signers shall bind themselves, for themselves, and in the name of all the citizens of this Province, by virtue of the powers conferred upon them for the purpose, as electors appointed for this act, to hold as valid and to obey and execute whatever such Deputies of the Cortes shall do and resolve for these constituents of the government of the Mexican Nation. And in the same manner, they bind the citizens of the Province to obey whatever they order and determine respecting the Constitution which they might establish as the fundamental law of the Empire. In consideration of this Province being overseas, and it being necessary to await the opportunity for a vessel to San Blas or Acapulco, whence they pass to the Imperial City of Mexico; and since it is impossible to arrive there during the present year (at the very earliest at the beginning of next year), if it be the pleasure of the Cortes, let the

present authorization be legal for the next two years, and on the contrary, let the Cortes order the new election of their successors. Thus did they express themselves, and they affixed their signatures, ordering that this credential of his election be given to Colonel Don Pablo Vicente de Sola. The same gentlemen and the other electors signed this credential together with me.

Witnesses of this act: Francisco Castro. Jose Aruz. Francisco Ortega. Jose Palomares. As he could not sign his name, Don Ygnacio Lopez made the sign of the Holy Cross. Pablo Vicente de Sola. Jose Mariano Estrada. Manuel Gomez. Jose Maria Estudillo, secretary.

A copy of its original, to which I certify. Monterey, July 3, 1822.
JOSE MARIA ESTUDILLO, Secretary with vote (rubric).

9. MANUEL VARELA TO CANON AGUSTÍN FERNÁNDEZ, MAY 22, 1822

Casa de V. y Mayo 22 de 822.

Señor D.ⁿ Augustin Fernandez.

Mi amado Comp.^e nada he podido adelantar en la aclaracion de la notisia que comunique á V. hoy, de que el Gobierno de la alta California se habia puesto, bajo la proteccion de la Vandera Rusa;

El Piloto del Vergantin Accion que podria aclararla me á dho D.ⁿ Juan Escudero, que ase pocos dias vino de S.ⁿ Blas, se habia ido, en uno de los Buques que han salido de dho Puerto, y me añadio dho. Escudero, que abia oido desir en S.ⁿ Blas que en el Puerto de la Bodega permanecian a la salida del Vergantin Accion quatro Fragat.^s de Guerra, Rusas: si es sierta esta noticia, es muy regular que el Comand.^{te} de Marina de S.ⁿ Blas la haya comunicado, al Soberano Congreso ó al S.^{or} Generalisimo.

Siempre será muy del caso escriba Vmd. á Narvaez, como ablamos hoy.

Queda de V siempre afmo Compadre Seg^o Serv^o q S. M. B.

MANUEL VARELA (rúbrica).

[TRANSLATION]

At your Home, May 22, 1822.

Señor Don Augustin Fernandez:

My dear friend: I have been able to get no further light on the news which I communicated to you today, namely, that the Government of Alta California had been placed under the protection of the Russian banner.

The pilot of the brig *Accion*, who could clear up the matter—as was told me by Don Juan Escudero, who came from San Blas a few days ago—had gone away in one of the vessels clearing from the said port. The said Escudero added that he had heard say in San Blas that four Russian men-of-war were left in the port of Bodega when the brig *Accion* cleared. If this news be true, it is to be assumed that the naval commander of San Blas should have communicated it to the Sovereign Congress or to the Commander-in-chief.

It will always be in order for you to write to Narvaez, as we said today.

Ever your affectionate friend and true servant, who kisses your hands,

MANUEL VARELA (rubric).

10. CERTIFICATE OF ACT OF ALLEGIANCE, SAN VICENTE, MAY 22, 1822
N. 3.

D.^a Jose Manuel Ruiz Teniente de Caballeria de la Comp.^a del Presidio de Loreto, y actual Comandante de estas Front.^a de la antigua California.

Certifica q. habiendo recibido ord^a del S.^{or} Gov.^{or} Politico y Militar de esta Provincia de la antigua Calif.^a el S.^{or} D. Jose Arguello, el dia 12. del presente mes, en la que me incluia el acta de la Soverana junta de este Ymperio declaratoria de su Yndependencia, el Plan de Yguala, el tratado de Cordova, el decreto de la Regencia del Ymperio Mexicano, y Soverana junta Provicional gubernativa, y Copia del acta Celebrada en el Presidio de Loreto, i para dar cumplimiento y execucion a lo dispuesto; en la mañana del dia 16. del corriente di ord^a al Sarg.^{to} y Cabos que a las 10. de la mañana se formase toda la Tropa que guarnese esta Escolta, y que se juntara todo el Vecindario en el cuerpo de Guardia; inmediatamente pasé a dho Cuerpo de Guardia, a donde estava la Tropa formada sobre las armas, les mandé presentar las armas, les hise Saver p.^a q. fin heran conbocados, y con arreglo al articulo 3.^o del Decreto de la Regencia del Ymperio y Soverana junta Provicional y gubernativa, lei al frente de la Tropa, y Vecindario el acta de la Soverana junta de este Ymperio, declaratoria de su Yndependencia, el Plan de Yguala, el tratado de Cordova, el decreto de la Regencia del Ymperio, Concluido este acto y con arreglo al articulo 2.^o del Soverano y citado decreto, recibí el juramento devido despues de vien enterados de su contenido, bajo la formula prebenida en el

citado artº al Sarg.^{to} Cabos, Tropa, y Vecindario, y todos unamimes respondieron a Cordes Seg. la formula indicada, y concluyendo con una Salva y repique de Campanas, y mucho regosijo; y al dia siguiente se hiso una solenne function de Yglecia con Salva Triple, con lo q. se dio cumplimiento a la Soverana ord.^a

S.^a Vicente 22. de Mayo de 1822.

JOSE MAN^l RUIZ (rúbrica).

[TRANSLATION]

Number 3

I, Don Jose Manuel Ruiz, Cavalry Lieutenant of the Company of the Presidio of Loreto, and present Commander of these frontiers of Old California:

Certify that, upon receiving the order of the Military and Political Governor of this Province of Old California, Don Jose Arguello, on the 12th day of the present month, in which was sent to me the act of the Sovereign Council of this Empire declaring its Independence, the Plan of Iguala, the Treaty of Cordova, the decree of the Regency of the Mexican Empire, and the provisional Sovereign Administrative Assembly, and a copy of the act celebrated in the Presidio of Loreto, and in order to execute and obey the order, on the morning of the 16th day of the present month, I ordered the sergeant and corporals to draw up all the troops in this garrison at 10 o'clock in the morning, and to assemble all the inhabitants at the guardhouse. Thereupon I went immediately to the said guardhouse, where the troops had been drawn up under arms, ordered them to present arms, informed them why they had been summoned, and in accordance with the 3d article of the decree of the Regency of the Empire and provisional and Administrative Sovereign Assembly, read to the troops and inhabitants the act of the Sovereign Council of this Empire, the declaration of Independence, the Plan of Iguala, the Treaty of Cordova, and the decree of the Regency of the Empire. This having been concluded, in accordance with article 2 of the sovereign and above mentioned decree, I administered the proper oath, after its contents had been well understood, in the manner prescribed in the above mentioned article, to the sergeant, corporals, the troops, and the inhabitants. All unanimously answered in accordance with the indicated formula, and the ceremony concluded with a volley of musketry, the ringing of the bells and hearty rejoicing. On the following day, a solemn church

service was celebrated, at which there were three volleys of musketry. In this manner was the sovereign order observed.

San Vicente, May 22, 1822.

JOSE MANUEL RUIZ (rubric).

11. CANON FERNÁNDEZ TO THE MINISTER OF RELATIONS, TEPIC, MAY 23, 1822

Ecsmo. Señor.

Pongo en noticia de V. E. haver llegado dia de la fha á esta Ciudad. é inmediateam.^{te} he procurado saver, el estado en que se haya el Verg.ⁿ S.ⁿ Carlos, en que devo embarcarme para las Californias: fui informado por el Comand^{te} de Armas y del Departamento de S.ⁿ Blas que dho Buque no puede salir, asta el dia 15. o 20. del mes entrante a causa de no estar echo los viberes.

Acabo de resivir una Esquela de un Comp.^o y amigo mio, que incluyo á V. E. para su Superior conosimiento.

Dios gue á V. E. m.^s a.^s Tepic 23 de Mayo de 1822.

AG.ⁿ FRNZ. DE S.ⁿ VICENTE (rúbrica).

[Addressed:] Exmo Sor Ministro de Estado y de Relacion.^s interior.^s y exterior.^s

[TRANSLATION]

Your Excellency:

I herewith advise your Excellency of my arrival in this city today. I have immediately endeavored to ascertain the condition of the brig *San Carlos* in which I am to take passage to California. I was informed by the commandant of the troops and of the department of San Blas that said vessel cannot leave until the 15th or 20th of next month, because provisions have not been laid in.

I have just received a note from a comrade and friend which I am sending to you herewith for your superior information.

May God preserve your Excellency many years. Tepic, May 23, 1822.

AGUSTIN FERNANDEZ DE SAN VICENTE (rubric).

[Addressed:] The Minister of State and of Domestic and Foreign Relations.

12. JOSÉ MANUEL RUÍZ TO GOV. JOSÉ ARGÜELLO, SAN VICENTE, JUNE 8, 1822

N. 253.

El S.^{or} Gobernador de la alta Calif^a segun se demuestra a bariado la costumbre de el correo ordinario, el tendrá sus razones para que assi aiga sucedido; y yo deceso de q. llegue a manos de V. el certificado de aber jurado la Yndependencia en estas Fronteras de mi cargo pongo este extraordinario con solo la Correspondencia de Fronteras pues no quiero que la Corte Ymperial de Mexico me tenga por inovediente, y V. no llevará a mal mi dispoci.^{on}

Desde el dia 22. de Mayo hasta el dia de la fha no a ocurrido novedad alguna solo si q. los Yndios de Santa Catarina, han buuelto a las novedades de ahora dos años veremos en lo que paran, otro si: Que el dia 4 del presente tube noticias por un Yndio Playano que la tarde del mismo dia, avia pasado un Buque vastante abultado con rumbo p.^a el sur, y que al Siguiente dia a las once de la mañana, pasó otro con el mismo rumbo, aunq. yo opino que serán los mismos que se dejaron veer en la Encenada. Ya Son las cinco de la tarde y hasta la fha no tengo noticias de haigan fondeado en estas ensenadas de mi jurisdiccion.

Aqui tengo un Vecino q. quiere tomar la Plaza, a luego que se la de, le mandare su Filiacion.

El dia de mañana sale el precente extraordinario lo q. Comunico a V. p.^a su conocimiento.

Nro S.^{or} Gue a V. m.^a a.^a S.ⁿ Vicente 8 de Junio de 1822.

JOSE MAN^l RUIZ (rúbrica).

[Addressed:] S.^{or} Gov.^{or} de la baja Calif.^a Dn. José Arguello.

[TRANSLATION]

Number 253.

The Governor of Alta California, as has been seen, has varied the method of the regular mail. He will have his reasons for having done so. I being desirous that the attestation of the swearing of the oath of the Independence in these Frontiers under my charge should reach you, am sending this extraordinary mail with only the correspondence of the Frontiers, since I do not wish the Imperial Court of Mexico to consider me as disobedient, and you to consider me as evilly disposed.

Between the 22d of May and today, nothing new has occurred except that the Indians of Santa Catarina have returned to the innovations of two years ago. We shall see where they stop. Likewise, on the 4th of the present month, I received news from an Indian of the coast that a heavily laden vessel had passed on the afternoon of the same day, heading south, and that on the following day at eleven in the morning, another vessel had passed headed in the same direction. However, I think that they are the same vessels that were seen in the bay. It is already five o'clock in the afternoon, and I have not heard of them having anchored in these bays of my jurisdiction.

There is one of the inhabitants here who wishes to take the place. As soon as it is given to him, I shall send his record to you.

In the morning the present extraordinary mail will leave. I am communicating this to you for your information.

May our Lord preserve your Excellency many years. San Vicente, June 8, 1822.

JOSE MANUEL RUIZ (rubric).

[Addressed:] The Governor of Baja California, Don José Arguello.

13. THE MINISTER OF RELATIONS TO CANON FERNÁNDEZ, MEXICO, JUNE 15, 1822

Primera Secretaria de Estado. Seccion de Gobierno.

Por la carta q. V. T. acompaña á la suya de 23 Mayo ultimo se ha impuesto El Emperador de las noticias referentes á la alta California; y habiendo, estas llamado la atencion de SM. no obstante el no venir comprobadas, me manda diga á VS que rectificandolas por los conductos, que estime mas juiciosos, y seguros, procure V S dar cuenta con la frecuencia posible, de lo que vaya adelantando en una materia que por su importancia exige no la pierda V S de vista.

Dios gue á V Y m.^a a.^a Mexico 15 de Junio de 1822.

(Rúbrica.)

[Addressed:] Al Dr. Dn. Agustin Fernz de Sn. Vicente.

[TRANSLATION]

Chief office of the Secretary of State. Government Section.

By means of the letter accompanying your letter of the 23d of last May, the Emperor has been informed of the news relating to Alta California. The attention of his Majesty having been called to these news, although the reports are not accompanied by the attesting docu-

ments, he orders me to tell you that in verifying the news by the messengers whom you consider most judicious and reliable, your Excellency should endeavor to report as often as possible on the progress made in regard to a matter which demands that your Excellency do not lose sight of it because of its importance.

May God preserve your Excellency many years. Mexico, June 15, 1822.

(Rubric.)

[Addressed:] To Doctor Don Agustin Fernandez de San Vicente.

14. THE MINISTER OF RELATIONS TO THE GOVERNOR OF SAN BLAS, JUNE 15, 1822

De orn del Emperador acompaño a V ese pliego a fin de q en el caso de haberse hecho á la vela el Dr. Dn. Ag.ⁿ Fernz. de Sn. Vic.^{te} le dé V. la direcc^{on} debida en primera ocasion segura dando aviso de haberlo verificado.

D. Junio 15 de 822.

(Rúbrica.)

[Addressed:] Al Gob.^r de Sn Blas.

[TRANSLATION]

By order of the Emperor, I enclose you herewith the sheet, so that in case that Doctor Don Agustin Fernandez de San Vicente has sailed, you may give him the due orders on the first safe occasion advising that this has been done.

June 15, 1822.

(Rubric.)

[Addressed:] To the Governor of San Blas.

15. GOV. JOSÉ ARGÜELLO TO CANON FERNÁNDEZ, LORETO, JUNE 27, 1822
N. 1.

Ympuesto de la Comicion que ha motivado el arribo de V. S. á esta Capital, de los Asuntos que ésta encierra y del Oficio de V. S. fecha de ayer debo decirle: que efectivamente ni los achaques de mi quebrantada salud ni mi abansada edad, me permiten continuar al frente de los negocios del Gobierno de ésta Provincia, y mucho menos en las presentes circunstancias en que se trata de establecer con actividad y energia el nuevo Sistema liberal é Yndependientes = Por tanto si

está en las facultades de VS. exonerarme del indicado Empleo permitiendome trasladarme a la Capital de la Provincia de Nueva Galicia por la primera via, espero tenga la bondad de expedirme el correspondiente Pasaporte al intento, y de quedar persuadido é informar a la Corte del Ymperio que mi Solicitud se contrahe unicamente al buen deseo que me anima de que las ordenes de nuestro venefico Gobierno tengan su mas breve y puntual complimiento =Dios gue. á VS. m.^a a.^s Loreto 27. de Junio de 1822. segundo de nuestra Yndepend.^a = José Arguello =Sor. [Addressed:] Prevendado D.^r D. Agustin Fernandez de San Vicente—

Es Copia. Loreto 9 de Julio de 1822.

AG.ⁿ FRNZ. DE S. VICENTE (rúbrica).

[TRANSLATION]

Number 1

Having been informed of the commission that has caused your Excellency's arrival in this Capital, of the matters enclosed, and of your Excellency's official despatch of yesterday, I have to say that really neither the attacks on my shattered health nor my advanced age permit me to continue at the head of the affairs of the Government of this Province, and much less under the present circumstances in which the new liberal and independent system is to be established with activity and energy. Therefore, if it is within your Excellency's power to excuse me from the aforesaid employment by allowing me to transfer to the Capital of the Province of New Galicia, I trust that you will have the goodness to send me the proper passport for this purpose by the earliest mail and that you will believe and so inform the Imperial Court that my anxiety is animated solely by my good desire that the orders of our beneficent Government be executed in the briefest and most exact manner. May God preserve your Excellency many years. Loreto, June 27, 1822, and the Second year of our Independence. José Arguello. [Addressed:] Prebendary Dr. Don Agustin Fernandez de San Vicente.

A copy. Loreto, July 9, 1822.

AGUSTIN FERNANDEZ DE SAN VICENTE (rubric).

16. CANON FERNÁNDEZ TO GOV. JOSÉ ARGÜELLO, LORETO, JUNE 28, 1822
N. 2

Enterado del Oficio de V. fecha de ayer por el que hace dimicion del Empleo de Governador de ésta Provincia que tan dignamente obtiene

en virtud de los poderosos motivos que á ella le impelen, puede V. por ahora y en obio de demoras en los asuntos de mi Comision, hacer formal entrega de todos los Documentos Relativos al completo desempeño de dicho Empleo al Capitan D. Fernando de la Toba entre tanto que reunidos los miembros de ésta Sociedad se determina el Sugeto que le corresponde y convenga a las beneficas intenciones de nuestro Gobierno, asegurandole á V. que tanto de ésta ocurrencia como de su honrado proceder dará oportunamente Cuenta a la Corte del Ymperio para que se tengan en concideracion los distinguidos meritos y dilatados Servicios de V. quien desde luego puede disponer su marcha a la Capital de Nueva Galicia segun desea, como y quando mejor le convenga, contando para ello con el Pasaporte que Solicita por su citado oficio á que contesto = Dios gue. á V. m.^a a.^a Loreto 28 de Junio de 1822. Seg.^{do} de nuestra gloriosa Yndepend.^a Agustin Fernandez de San Vicente. [Addressed:] Sor. D. Jose Arguello Gobernador de ésta Provincia.

Es Copia. Loreto 9^a de Julio de 1822.

Ag.ⁿ FRNZ. DE S. VICENTE (rúbrica).

[TRANSLATION]

Number 2

Having been informed by your official despatch of yesterday, in which you resign the office of Governor of this Province, which you so worthily obtain by virtue of the powerful motives that impel you to ask it, you may for the present and in order to avoid delay, in the matters of my commission, make formal delivery of all the documents relative to the complete discharge of said office to Captain Don Fernando de la Toba. In the meanwhile when the members of this society are assembled, that person shall be decided on who is proper for the office and who is in accord with the beneficent intentions of our Government. I assure you that I shall give due account to the Imperial Court, both of this occurrence and of your honorable procedure, so that they may hold in consideration your distinguished merits and long services. You may immediately arrange for your departure to the capital of New Galicia according to your desire, when and as is most convenient to you, reckoning for this on the passport which you request in your aforesaid official despatch, to which I reply. May God preserve you many years. Loreto, June 28, 1822, the Second

year of our glorious Independence. Agustin Fernandez de San Vicente. [Addressed:] Sr. Don Jose Arguello, Governor of this Province.

A copy. Loreto, July 9, 1822.

AGUSTIN FERNANDEZ DE SAN VICENTE (rubric).

17. SELECTION OF THE AYUNTAMIENTO, LORETO, JULY 2, 1822

En el Presidio de Loreto, Capital de la Provincia de la Baja California á dos de Julio de mil ochocientos veinte y dos, en la Casa de habitacion de el Sor Gefe politico Ynterino Capitan de Milicias Urbanas, D. Fernando de la Toba: se congregó el Vecindario á las siete de la Mañana, con el objeto de nombrar Electores Parroquiales q. designaran los individuos de que se habia de componer el Ayuntam.^{to} q. se instalo Y habiendo discutido por escrutinio secreto la materia con arreglo á lo q. previene la Constitucion Española (en lo que ha podido ser adaptable) salieron nombrados p.^a Electores los ciudadanos D. Miguel Mesa, con seis votos D. Juan Higuera, con nueve, D. Juan Ybañes, con cuatro, D. Cecilio Peña, con cinco D. Domingo Lopez con ocho D. Anastacio Arce, con tres D. Enrique Cota con cinco, y D. Pedro Aguilar con tres: Todos los cuales unidos y conferenciando entre si, eligieron, para Alcalde á D. Juan Higuera, q.^e sacó diez sufragios, para Regidor Decano á D. Anastacio Arce, q.^e sacó ocho para segundo Regidor á D. Enrique Cota, q.^e sacó cinco, y para Sindico Procurador á D. Luis de Cuevas que saco seis: Hecha publica la indicada votacion por el Sor. Gefe politico se conformaron los ciudadanos presentes con ellas, con la cual quedó instalado el Ayuntamiento para entrar el uso y goze de sus respectivas Atribuciones. En Testimonio lo firmaron el en el supradicho lugar.^d

FERN.^{do} DE LA TOBA (rúbrica).

JUAN YGUERA, Alcde (rúbrica).

ANASTACIO ARCE, Primer Regidor (rúbrica).

ENRIQUE COTA, Seg.^{do} Reg.^{dor} (rúbrica).

LUIS DE CUEVAS, Sindico Proc (rúbrica).

MARTIN HIGUERA, Srio. (rúbrica).

[TRANSLATION]

In the Presidio of Loreto, Capital of this Province of Baja California, July two, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-two, in the residence of the provisional Political Chief, the Captain of Urban Militia, Don Fernando de la Toba, the citizens were assembled at seven

o'clock in the morning for the purpose of appointing parochial electors to designate the persons who were to compose the Ayuntamiento, which was installed. Having discussed the matter by secret examination, in accordance with the provisions of the Spanish Constitution (in so far as it has been possible to adopt it), the following citizens were appointed as electors namely, Don Miguel Mesa, with six votes, Don Juan Higuera, with nine, Don Juan Ybañez with four, Don Cecilio Peña with five, Don Domingo Lopez, with eight, Don Anastacio Arce, with three, Don Enrique Cota, with five, and Don Pedro Aguilar, with three. All of these assembled and conferring together, elected as alcalde, Don Juan Higuera, who obtained ten votes, as head of the Regidors, Don Anastacio Arce, who obtained eight votes, as Second Regidor, Don Enrique Cota, who obtained five votes, and as Prosecuting Attorney, Don Luis de Cuevas, who obtained six votes. The results of the vote having been announced by the Political Chief, the citizens present at the voting concurred. Thereupon the Ayuntamiento was installed and entered upon the use and enjoyment of its respective attributes. In testimony of which they signed it, in the aforesaid place.

FERNANDO DE LA TOBA (rubric).

JUAN YGUERA, Alcalde (rubric).

ANASTACIO ARCE, Chief Regidor (rubric).

ENRRIQUE COTA, Second Regidor (rubric).

LUIS DE CUEVAS, Prosecuting Attorney (rubric).

MARTIN HIGUERA, Secretary (rubric).

18. ACT OF ALLEGIANCE, LORETO, JULY 2, 1822

En el Presidio de Loreto, Capital de la Provincia de la Baja California a dos dias del mes de Julio, de mil ochocientos veinte y dos años, en la casa de alojamiento del Sr. Prebendado D.^r D. Agustin Fernandez de S. Vicente: Comisionado por el Gobierno Ymperial Mexicano, se congregaron á las diez de la mañana los Sres Gefes politico interino Capitan de Milicias Urbanas D. Fernando de la Toba; el Alcalde constitucional é Ymperial D.ⁿ Juan Higuera, y los Regidores D. Anastacio Arce, y D. Enrique Cota, con su Sindico Procurador D. Luis de Cuevas, y el Secrétario D. Martin Higuera: Estando preparado con anticipacion sobre una mesa la efigie de un crucifixo y el Libro de los Stos Evangelios, y puesta sobre ellas la mano derecha les recibio dho Sor. Gefes politico Juramento en la forma que prescribe el Soberano

Decreto del Congreso constitucional Mexicano dirijido á las Regencias de el Ymperio, con fecha de diez y ocho de Abril, y es la siguiente:

Jurias (*sic*) por Dios y por los Stos Evangelios reconocer la Soberania de la Nacion Mexicana representada por el congreso constituyente? Respondieron: Si Juramos.

¿Jurais Obedecer y cumplir las Leyes, y Decretos, que dimanen del mismo Congreso? A lo q tambien respondieron: Juramos Si asi lo hicieris los Dixo: el Sor Gefe politico Dios todo poderoso os premie, y si no, os lo demande, y mando q^e de estos actos se sacase testimonio á fin de q.^e por su conducto se remitiese al q.^e corresponde á la Regencia. En Testimonio de Verdad, lo firmaron el S. Gefe politico, y demas individuos de esta Ylustre corporacion Doy feé como Srio.

FERN^{do} DE LA TOBA (rúbrica).

JUAN YGUERA, Alc^o (rúbrica).

ANASTACIO ARCE, Primer Reguidor [*sic*] (rúbrica).

ENRIQUE COTO, Seg.^{do} Regidor (rúbrica).

LUIS DE CUEVAS, Sindico Proc.^{or} (rúbrica).

MARTIN HIGUERA, Srio. (rúbrica).

[TRANSLATION]

In the Presidio of Loreto, Capital of the Province of Baja California, on the second day of the month of July, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-two, in the lodging house of the Prebendary Doctor Don Agustin Fernandez de San Vicente, Commissioner for the Imperial Mexican Government, there assembled at ten o'clock in the morning, the following gentlemen: the provisional Political Chief, the Captain of Urban Militia, Don Fernando de la Toba, the Constitutional and Imperial Alcalde, Don Juan Higuera, the Regidores, Don Anastacio Arce, and Don Enrique Cota, with their Prosecuting Attorney, Don Luis de Cuevas, and the Secretary, Don Martin Higuera. There being prepared beforehand on a table a crucifix and the book of the Holy Gospels, and having placed thereon his right hand, the said Political Chief administered to them the oath in the form prescribed by the Sovereign Decree of the Mexican Constitutional Congress sent to the Regencies of the Empire on the eighteenth of April. Said oath is as follows:

Do you swear before God and on the Holy Gospels to recognize the Sovereignty of the Mexican Nation represented by the constituent Congress? They answered, "Yes, we swear."

Do you swear to obey and to execute the laws and decrees which emanate from the said Congress? To which they also answered "We swear." "If ye shall do so," said the Political Chief to them, "may God Almighty reward you, but if not, may you answer to Him for it." He ordered that an attestation be made of these acts, so that it might be sent by him to the proper agency in the Regency. In testimony of the truth, the Political Chief and the other persons of this exalted corporation affixed their signatures. I attest it as Secretary.

FERNANDO DE LA TOBA (rubric).

JUAN YGUERA, Alcalde (rubric).

ANASTACIO ARCE, First Regidor (rubric).

ENRRIQUE COTA, Second Regidor (rubric).

LUIS DE CUEVAS, Prosecuting Attorney (rubric).

MARTIN HIGUERA, Secretary (rubric).

19. ELECTION OF A SECRETARY OF THE AYUNTAMIENTO, LORETO, JULY 2,
1822

En el Presidio de Loreto, Capital de la Provincia de la Baja California á dos dias de el mes de Julio de mil ochocientos veinte y dos, en la casa de habitacion del Sor. Comisionado del Ymperio D.^r D.ⁿ Agustin Fernandez de San Vicente: acto continuo de la instalacion de este Ylustre Ayuntamiento procedieron los Sres. q. lo componen á la nominacion de su Srio; y habiendo examinado el asunto con la madurez q. merece, conferenciando entre si detenidamente nombraron, y nombró para q. sirva el empleo, al Ciudadano D. Martin Higuera, en quien concurren las circunstancias de fidelidad en el secreto, y demas que se prometen de su exacto desempeño. En testimonio lo firmaron los Sres. de la Corporacion.

JUAN YGUERA, Alc^{de} (rúbrica).

ANASTACIO ARCE, Primer Reguidor [*sic*] (rúbrica).

ENRRIQUE COTA, Seg.^{do} Reg.^{dor} (rúbrica).

LUIS DE CUEVAS, Sindico Proc^{or} (rúbrica).

MARTⁿ HIG^a, Srio (rúbrica).

[TRANSLATION]

In the Presidio of Loreto, Capital of the Province of Baja California, on the second day of the month of July, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-two, in the house of the Imperial Commissioner, Doctor Don Agustin Fernandez de San Vicente, in continuation of the in-

stallation of this exalted Ayuntamiento, the gentlemen composing it proceeded to the nomination of its secretary. After having considered the matter with the due deliberation and having conferred earnestly among themselves, they appointed, and did appoint, to serve in that capacity, the citizen Don Martin Higuera, in whom were found to reside the qualities of fidelity in secret affairs and other qualities which promise the exact performance of his duties. In testimony of truth, the gentlemen of the corporation affixed their signatures.

JUAN YGUERA, Alcalde (rubric).

ANASTACIO ARCE, First Regidor (rubric).

ENRIQUE COTA, Second Regidor (rubric).

LUIS DE CUEVAS, Prosecuting Attorney (rubric).

MARTIN HIGUERA, Secretary (rubric).

20. THE MINISTER OF RELATIONS TO CANON FERNÁNDEZ, MEXICO, JULY 3, 1822

Por el oficio de V. S. de 8 de Junio ultimo con q.^e dicta á S. M. Y. queda entendido de q.^e p.^r enfermedad de D. Bernardino Naxera nombrado p.^r V. S. como Secretario de su comision habia elegido al Contador del Bergantin S. Carlos en q.^e V. S. navega p.^r habersele ofrecido gratuitam.^{te} y ser capaz del desempeño de tal encargo: S. M. ha aprobado tal nombram.^{to} y de su orn. lo comunico á V. S. p.^a su intelig.^{ia}

D. M.^o 3 de Julio de 822.

(Rúbrica.)

[Addressed:] Sor. D. D. Ag.^a Fern.^a de S. Vicente.

[TRANSLATION]

By your Excellency's official despatch of the 8th of last June, sent to his very illustrious Majesty, the latter has been informed that because of the illness of Don Bernardino Naxera, who had been appointed by your Excellency as secretary of your committee, you had chosen the accountant of the brig *San Carlos* (the ship in which your Excellency is taking passage), inasmuch as he had offered himself without compensation, and as he is capable of performing the duties of such office. His majesty has approved the aforesaid appointment, and at his order I communicate his approval to your Excellency for your information.

July 3, 1822.

(Rubric.)

[Addressed:] Doctor Don Agustin Fernandez de San Vicente.

21. GOVERNOR PABLO VICENTE SOLÁ TO THE MINISTER OF RELATIONS,
MONTEREY, JULY 3, 1822

Exmo. Sor.

Tengo la satisfaccion de noticiarle a la Superioridad de V. E. el que a las ocho y cuarto de la noche de antes de ayer llego á mis manos su oficio de 20 de Marzo ultimo y con el los treinta y siete Ympresos que le acompañan de Decretos y ordenes de la Regencia del Ymperio de la Junta Provicional Gubernativa y del Soberano Congreso constituyente a todos los cuales se les dara el debido cumplimiento.

Me dice V. E. en su citado oficio el que S. A. S. no ha recibido contextacion alguna de este Gobierno que esta a mi cuidado lo cual siento no poco por que inmediatamente que llegaron a mi poder en principio de Marzo las primeras ordenes de V. E. y las del Exmo Sor D. Jose Dominguez dicte las mas activas providencias p.^a que se hiciese el Juramento de la Yndependencia en la Monarquia Española y reconocimiento a nuestro Ymperio Mexicano combocando p.^a ello a los cuatro Comandantes en igual numero de Presidios que hay establecidos en esta Provincia que tienen de longitud Doscientas Viente y ocho Leguas quienes se reunieron el dia 9 de Abril y el 11 del mismo. se hizo el juramento por mi, por dichos Comandantes y por los Capitanes D. Pablo de la Portilla Comandante de la Compañia en Caballeria del Escuadron de Mazatlan y D. Jose Antonio Navarrete de la de Ynfanteria auxiliar en S. Blas y el M. R. P. Prefecto Fr Mariano Payeras Prelado en estas Diez y Nuebe Misiones y otra Estancia nombrada S. Rafael y Posteriormente han hecho el mismo juramento los expresados Presidios y tres pequeños Pueblos y referidas Misiones con toda la magnifiscencia que ofrece este Pobre pais de todo lo cual tengo dado parte a V. E. el principal en 13. de Abril con el numero 1. por el correo mensual de tierra dirigido a Loreto a aquel Sor Governador Capitan D. Jose Dario Arguello y con fecha de 5. de Mayo el Duplicado por la via del Capitan graduado D. Jose Romero Comandante del Presidio del Tucson en la Provincia de Sonora y ahora lo hago tambien del triplificado, por si el Principal y duplicado hubiesen padecido extravio lo cual no me seria extraño por cuanto en los siete años que llebo de ser Governador de esta Provincia no han sido pocos los que han sufrido la correspondencia que de esa Superioridad se me ha dirigido y lo mismo a las remitidas por mi sobre lo cual y el arreglo de correos raro fue el mes que dexase de escribir a los Exmos Señores Vireyes que fueron de esa Capital D. Felix Maria Calleja y Conde del Venadito.

En oficio de 29 del proximo pasado mes numero 5. digo a V. E. y por separado al Serenísimo Señor Generalísimo la eleccion de Diputado a Cortes q.^a se hizo en mi previo todos los Requisitos que antecedieron conforme a las ordenes que se comunicaron a este Gobierno para ello lo cual se verifico el 21 de Mayo.

Dios gue a V. E. m.^a a.^a Monterey de la Alta California 3 de Julio de 1822. Segundo de la Yndependencia Mexicana.

Exmo. S.^{or}

PABLO VICENTE DE SOLA (rúbrica).

[Addressed:] Exmo Sor D. Jose Manuel de Herrera Secretario de Negocios y Relaciones interiores y exteriores.

[TRANSLATION]

Number 6

Your Excellency:

I take pleasure in informing your Excellency that at a quarter past eight on the night before last, your official despatch of the 20th of last March reached my hands, and with it the thirty-seven printed enclosures of decrees and orders of the Regency of the Empire, of the provisional administrative Council, and of the Sovereign Constituent Congress, to all of which the due obedience will be given.

Your Excellency tells me in your aforesaid official despatch that your exalted Lordship has not received any answer from this Government under my charge. I am not a little sorry for this, for as soon as your Excellency's first orders reached me at the beginning of March, as well as those of his Excellency, Don Jose Dominguez, I took the most active measures for the taking of the oath of Independence of the Spanish Monarchy and the recognition of our Mexican Empire. For that purpose I summoned the four commandants from that number of Presidios established in this Province (which have a length of two hundred and twenty-eight leagues). These men assembled on the 9th of April, and on the 11th of the same month, the oath was taken before me by the aforesaid Commandants and by the captains Don Pablo de la Portilla, Commandant of the Company in the Cavalry Squadron of Mazatlan, and Don Jose Antonio Navarrete, of the company of auxiliary infantry in San Blas, and the very Reverend Father Prefect, Mariano Payeras, prelate of these nineteen Missions and one other station called San Rafael. Afterward, the said oath was taken by the above mentioned Presidios and three small towns and

the aforesaid Missions with all the pomp that this poor country offers. Of all of this I informed your Excellency by the original on the 13th of April in my despatch number 1 by the monthly overland mail sent to Loreto to the Governor there, Captain Don Jose Dario Arguello; and on the 5th of last May, by the duplicate sent via the Captain by brevet, Don Jose Romero, Commandant of the Presidio of Tucson in the Province of Sonora; and now I am doing the same by triplicate, lest the original and duplicate should have gone astray, inasmuch as in the seven years that I have been Governor of this Province, not a few of the letters which were written to me from that superior office have suffered that fate, as well as of those sent by me. In regard to this and the arrangement of the mails, rare was the month in which I neglected to write to their Excellencies, the Viceroys of that Capital, Don Felix Maria Calleja, and Conde del Venadito.

In my official despatch of the 29th of last month, number 5, I tell your Excellency, and in a separate communication, the very exalted general-in-chief, of the choice of the delegate to the Cortes, which took place on the 21st of May, and which fell to me, after all the requirements had been taken beforehand, in accordance with the orders communicated to this Government for that purpose.

May God preserve your Excellency many years. Monterey, Alta California, July 5, 1822, the Second Year of Mexican Independence.

Your Excellency,

PABLO VICENTE DE SOLA (rubric).

[Addressed:] His Excellency, Don Jose Manuel de Herrera, Secretary of Domestic and Foreign Affairs and Relations.

22. ACT OF ALLEGIANCE AND ITS CELEBRATION, LORETO, JULY 7, 1822

En el Presidio de Loreto Capital de la Provincia de la Baja California, á siete dias de el mes de Julio de mil ochocientos veinte y dos previas las disposiciones Necesarias, para la inteligencia del publico, se dio principio á la funcion del Juramento solemne con un repique de campanas, salva de la Tropa y artilleria con las demas demostraciones de jubilo q. permite el pais; en seguida se cantó una Missa de preparacion, á la que asistio el Sor. Gefe politico interino el Ylustre Ayuntamiento y los Sres. convidados de la noble comitiva del Buque Bergantin San Carlos de la Armada Ymperial, y un gran concurso de el pueblo. *E inter Missarum solemnia* Dixo: el Diacono R. P. Fr. Tomas de Ahumada una energica exhortacion al Pueblo Analoga á las circun-

stancias. Concluida la Missa, y puesto en el Presbiterio un Altar portatil con la efigie de un crucifixo y Libro de los Stos. Evangelios prestaron los tres R. R. P. P. Misioneros el debido Juramento de obediencia al Soberano Congreso constituyente ante el Sor. Comisionado de el Ymperio Mexicano D.^o D. Agustin Fernandez de S.^a Vicente Prebendado de la Sta. Yglesia Catedral de Durango, y acto continuo lo hizo el Sor Gefe politico interino y el ex-Gobernador Capitan D. José Dario Arguello, lo que ejecutado siguió á prestarlo el Ayuntam^{to} en cuerpo á q. se siguió á verificarlo el Pueblo en comun: Despues lo prestaron, en sus respectivos Cuerpos la tropa de guarnicion y Marina de este pequeño Departamento. Acabada la ceremonia, se procedio al paseo por la plaza y calles principales del Presidio hasta concluirse en la Casa Capitular de el Ayuntamiento, en donde el Sindico Procurador Arengó al S.^{or} Comisionado, con un discurso en que manifestó su adhesion y entusiasmo el sistema adoptado Cerraba la retaguardia de la noble é ilustre comitiva el Sor. Subteniente. D.^a Joaquin Garcia, q.^o con la tropa de su mando marchaba al son de caja en orden Militar A este le seguia multitud de gente del Pueblo, que con vivas y aclamaciones no cesaban (desde q.^o se acabó el juramento) de Manifestar su alegria y entusiasmo á nuestro venturoso sistema Para Mayor Ornato se iluminaron en la noche de este dia las Casas de todo el Vecindario dando fin á la funcion con un bayle q.^o celebró en su casa el S.^{or} Alcalde. En cuyo Testimonio de verdad, y para los fines convenientes, lo firmamos de q.^o yo el ifrascripto Secretario Doy Fee.

FERN^{do} DE LA TOBA (rúbrica).

JUAN YGUERA, Alc (rúbrica).

ANASTACIO ARCE, Primer Reguidor [*sic*] (rúbrica).

ENRRIQUE COTA, Seg^{do} Reg^{or} (rúbrica).

LUIS DE CUEVAS, Sindico Proc^{er} (rúbrica).

MARTIN HIGUERA, Srio. (rúbrica).

[TRANSLATION]

In the Presidio of Loreto, of the Province of Baja California, on the seventh day of the month of July, one thousand eight hundred and twenty-two, after the necessary measures had been taken for the information of the public, a beginning was made in the function of the taking of the solemn oath, by the ringing of the bells, a volley of musketry from the troops and by the artillery, together with the other jubilee demonstrations permitted by the country. After that a mass

of preparation was sung, at which were present the provisional Political Chief, the exalted Ayuntamiento, and the gentlemen invited from the noble suite of the Brig *San Carlos* of the imperial fleet, and a great crowd of the people. And *Inter Missarum solemnita*, the deacon, Reverend Father Fray Tomas de Ahumada, delivered a vigorous exhortation to the people fitting to the circumstances. Upon the conclusion of the mass, a portable altar having been placed in the presbytery with a Crucifix and the book of the Holy Gospels, the three reverend father missionaries took the proper oath of obedience to the Sovereign Constituent Congress before the Commissioner of the Mexican Empire, Doctor Don Agustin Fernandez de San Vicente, Prebendary of the Holy Cathedral Church of Durango. Continuing, the same thing was done by the provisional Political Chief and former Governor, Captain Don Jose Dario Arguello. After this had been done, the Ayuntamiento followed, taking the oath in a body, and after that the oath was taken by the people collectively. Next it was taken in their respective corps by the garrison and navy of this small department. When the ceremony had been concluded, a procession was made through the plaza and principal streets of the Presidio, which ended at the chapter house of the Ayuntamiento, where the Prosecuting Attorney delivered an oration to the Commissioner showing forth his adherence to, and enthusiasm for, the system adopted. The rearguard of the noble and exalted retinue was closed by the sub-Lieutenant Don Joaquin Garcia, who with the troops under his command marched in military order to the sound of the drum. This was followed by a crowd of the townspeople, who with hurraing and shouting did not cease (until after the taking of the oath was finished) to show their joy and enthusiasm to our happy system. As a greater adornment, the houses of all the inhabitants were illuminated on the night of this day, and the function ended with a dance which the Alcalde held in his house. In witness of the truth, and for the ends advisable, we affix our signatures, and I the undersigned Secretary attest them.

FERNANDO DE LA TOBA (rubric).

JUAN YGUERA, Alcalde (rubric).

ANASTACIO ARCE, First Regidor (rubric).

ENRIQUE COTA, Second Regidor (rubric).

LUIS DE CUEVAS, Prosecuting Attorney (rubric).

MARTIN HIGUERA, Secretary (rubric).

23. FERNANDO DE LA TOBA TO THE MINISTER OF RELATIONS, LORETO,
JULY 8, 1822

N. 1

Exmo Señor.

Al tiempo de entregarme del mando Politico y Militar de este Presidio que interinamente há recaído en mí por haber echo dimis^{on} de su Empleo el Sor Gobernador de esta Prov^a Recibi de dho Sor los 37 Ympresos que V. E. se sirbio dirijir a este Gobierno con superior oficio de 20 de Marzo ultimo, y comprenden los Decretos y ordenes de la Regencia, y del Soberano Congreso Constituyente los quales juntam.^{te} con los que estoy recibiendo del Sor Comisionado Doctor D.ⁿ Agustin Frnz de San Vicente entregaré con su respectibo Yndice al Ylustre Ayuntamiento de esta capital que acaba de instalarse. Lo comunico a V. E. para su devido concim.^{to} y en contestacion a su ya citado Superior Oficio.

Dios guarde a V. E. muchos años Loreto 8. de Julio de 1822 Segundo de la Yndependencia del Ymperio Mexicano.

Exmo Sor.

FERN° DE LA TOBA (rúbrica).

[Addressed:] Exmo Sor Secretario del Despacho de Estado. Mexico.

[In the margin:] El Gefe Politico Ynterino de la vaja California contesta a V. E. a su Superior oficio fha 20 de Marzo ult°

[TRANSLATION]

Number 1

Your Excellency:

At the time when the political and military command of this Presidio, which devolved upon me provisionally because of the resignation from his post by the Governor of this Province, was delivered to me, I received from the aforesaid Governor the 37 printed papers which your Excellency was pleased to send to this Government with your superior despatch of the 20th of last March, comprehending the decrees and orders of the Regency, and of the Sovereign Constituent Congress. These, together with those which I am now receiving from the Commissioner Don Agustin Fernandez de San Vicente, I shall deliver with their proper index to the exalted Ayuntamiento in this Capital which has just been installed. I am communicating this to your Excellency for your due information and in answer to your aforesaid superior despatch.

May God preserve your Excellency many years. Loreto, July 8, 1822, and the Second Year of the Independence of the Mexican Empire.

Your Excellency,

FERNANDO DE LA TOBA (rubric).

[Addressed:] His Excellency, Secretary of the Office of State. Mexico.

[In the margin:] The acting political chief of Baja California answers your Excellency's superior official despatch of the 20th of last March.

24. FERNANDO DE LA TOBA TO THE MINISTER OF RELATIONS, LORETO, JULY 9, 1822

N. 2

Exmo Señor

Dirijo a manos de V. E. los testimonios de las actas del Juramento Privado y solemne que ha écho Ayuntam.^{to} de esta Capital, la acta de su instalacion y el juram.^{to} del Pueblo en gral Para que V. E. se sirva darles el destino que sea de su agrado.

Dios gue a V. E. muchos años Loreto 9 de Julio de 1822 Seg.^{do} de nra Yndepend.^a

Exmo Sor.

FERN^o DE LA TOBA (rúbrica).

[Addressed:] Exmo Sor Secretario de Estado. Mexico.

[In the margin:] Yncluye á V. E. las actas del Juram^{to} e instalacion de Ayuntamiento en esta Cap.¹

[TRANSLATION]

Number 2

Your Excellency:

I am sending to you the attestations of the records of the private and solemn oath which was taken by the Ayuntamiento of this Capital, the record of its installation, and that of the oath of the town in general, in order that your Excellency may be pleased to do with them according to your pleasure.

May God preserve your Excellency many years. Loreto, July 9, 1822, the Second Year of our Independence.

Your Excellency,

FERNANDO DE LA TOBA (rubric).

[Addressed:] His Excellency, the Secretary of State. Mexico.

[In the margin:] He sends to your Excellency the records of the taking of the oath and of the installation of the Ayuntamiento in this Capital.

25. CANON FERNÁNDEZ TO THE MINISTER OF RELATIONS, LORETO, JULY
9, 1822

Exmo. Señor.

El día de ayer llegó el Correo de la Frontera al Norte de ésta Capital distante trescientas leguas, y el Teniente de aquella guarnición há dirigido á éste Gobernador el adjunto oficio y Carta que originales acompaño á V. E. para que se imponga por ambos papeles de que segun parece se ha jurado ya en la alta California nuestra Yndependencia; pero que la correspond.^a no está corriente sin saber á que atribuir ésta novedad, y lo comunico á V. E. p.^a su conocimien^{to}.

Dios gue. á V. E. m.^a a.^a Loreto 9 de Julio de 1822.

Seg^{do} de nuestra gloriosa Yndependencia.

AGⁿ FERNZ DE Sⁿ VICENTE (rúbrica).

[Addressed:] Exmo. Sor. Secret^o de Estado y Relaciones interiores y exter^a. Mexico.

[TRANSLATION]

Your Excellency:

Yesterday the mail arrived from the frontier located three hundred leagues north of this Capital. The Lieutenant of that garrison has sent to the Governor here the enclosed official despatch and letter, the originals of which I am sending herewith to your Excellency so that you may be informed by both papers that (as appears) the oath of our Independence has been taken in Alta California; but that the correspondence is not regular, and I can not tell to what to attribute this novelty. I communicate this to your Excellency for your information.

May God preserve your Excellency many years. Loreto, July 9, 1822, the Second Year of our glorious Independence.

AGUSTIN FERNANDEZ DE SAN VICENTE (rubric).

[Addressed:] His Excellency, the Secretary of State and of Domestic and Foreign Affairs. Mexico.

26. CANON FERNÁNDEZ TO THE MINISTER OF RELATIONS, LORETO, JULY
9, 1822

Exmo. Señor.

A las quatro de la tarde del 21 de Junio ultimo, dio fondo en ésta Rada el Berg.ⁿ Ymperial San Carlos de mi trasporte, y seguidamente baxé á tierra con el objeto de imponerme del estado en que se hallava la opinion publica con respecto á nuestro Sistema, y dar principio al giro

de los Asuntos de mi Comision; pero se me informó que despues de jurada la Yndepend.* un D. Jose M.* Lopez con investidura de Capitan y mandandose Comisionado del Ymperio, la havia echo jurar de nuevo sin fuera de orden y de las Reglas prevenidas, confundiendo las ideas de Libertad con las de libertinage, y poniendo en movimiento á estas gentes con una disparatada y desordenada eleccion de Ayuntamiento y formacion de Compañias locales. Reasumiendo en si, todas las jurisdicciones en terminos de haver discordado las opiniones hasta el extremo de que de sus resultados algunos de los Vecinos y Tropa negaban ya la obediencia al gobernador y oficiales todo á pretexto de un politico encargo que el indicado Gefe hizo á Lopez al tiempo que éste le entregó un Pliego cuya condicion segun he averiguado, fue el unico motivo de su arribo desde Mazatlan en la Balandra Correo de esta Provincia nombrado nuestra Señora del Rosario que se hallava en aquel Puerto, á donde la llevaron furtivamente algunos Marineros y Soldados de éste Presidio, á pretexto segun se me há informado de que aqui no se juraba la Yndependencia.

Desgraciadamente se hallaban ausentes de esta Capital el Gobernador y el R. P. Presid.* de éstas Misiones con quienes al momento me puse en comunicacion, insinuandoles el motivo de mi arribo y lo urgente de su comparecencia: en efecto el 25 del referido mes llegó el primero; pero como sus graves achaques y edad caduca, no le permiten el completo desempeño de sus obligaciones me pidio lo exonerase del mando, y lo verifique por las razones que verá VE. de las Copias numeros 1 y 2 que acompaño con el fin de encomendar á VE. el honrado proceder de este Gefe, á quien ha substituido por ahora el Alferes D. Fernando de la Toba Respecto á hallarse mui distante destacado en la Frontera del Norte el Teniente D. Manuel Ruiz que le corresponde por el orden de antigüedad, y por ser los unicos oficiales que hay en ésta Provincia; pero si me he de arreglar á lo prevenido en el artículo 4.º de los adicionales de mi Comision que demanda para ello la precisa estimacion y carño de estos havitantes, es de imperiosa necesidad que no reuniendo ésta qualidad ninguno de los oficiales referidos, se provea éste destino con prontitud en Sugeto mas Recomendable, pues de lo contrario preveo que pueden ocurrir consecuencias bastante desagradables, como lo hago presente en ésta fecha al Exmo Sor. Ministro de Guerra y Marina.

El dia 1.º del actual llegó tambien el R. P. Presidente Fr. Antonio Sanchez, con quien entablé el dia siguiente mi correpond.* de oficio y la admitio desde un principio dando las mejores pruebas de su adesion

á nuestro sistema de Yndependencia; pero fallecio casi repentinamente la tarde del 4 de dicho mes de Resultas del viage á distancia de treinta y dos leguas que median desde aqui a la Mision de las Purisima q.^o administraba.

En este estado de cosas y habiendo tomado de antemano medidas de conciliacion, me parecio lo mas prudente proceder con suabidad á tranquilizar los animos exasperados de algunos y anular los hechos de Lopez con la creacion de nuevo Ayuntamiento efectivamente veo logrados mis deseos dando parte á VE. de que el dia 2 de dicho mes se instaló la indicada Corporacion, que para entrar desde luego en el vio de sus atribuciones, prestó privadam.^{to} ante mi con la mayor solemnidad el juramento de estilo, y que en publico con el Pueblo, Militares y Religiosos se verifico el Domingo siguiente 7 del referido mes, segun todo consta de las Actas, cuyos testimonios dirige á VE. por éste mismo Correo, el Gefe Politico interino.

De los acontecimientos expresados deducirá VE. que nuestro Sistema, sin embargo de los inconvenientes Referidos, rige ya y queda establecido en ésta Capital de la Provincia de la antigua y baxa California segun lo permite su situacion local, sucediendo lo mismo en la parte del Norte de ella conforme lo expresa la Certificacion original de aquel Comand^{te} Militar que señalada con el num^o 3. acompaño a. VE. para su conocim.^{to} Superior.

En la parte del Sur está reunido el mayor numero de habitantes de ésta Provincia, y no siendo facil por la distancia, convocarlos a la Capital sin perjudicarlos y demorar demasiado mi Comision, hé pensado dirigirme al Real de San Antonio con el objeto de instalar alli otro Ayuntamiento, y proporcionar con mas vriedad la eleccion de Diputado, cuya marcha verificaré tan luego como llegue el nuevo R. P. Presidente q.^o aguardo para Recivirle el juramento Respectivo, y tratar con el los asuntos pendientes relativos á Misiones, y de aquel punto emprender la navegacion a la Alta California, dando antes cuenta á VE. del Resultado de ésta empresa, y entre tanto voy entregando á este Gefe Politico interino, los Decretos, ordenes, y Documentos que deben Regir en el nuevo Sistema.

La Estadistica, Plano de la Provincia, y proyectos sobre arreglar el Ramo de Misiones que estoí formando, lo Remitiré á V. E. en el proximo Correo, en intelligencia de que sobre ésta ultima parte deben tomarse medidas mui prontas para aquietar á los Naturales de ellas pues ya no quieren estar baxo los Auspicios de los Padres Misioneros que estos conoscan en sus temporalidades segun me lo están repre-

sentando continuam.^{to} desde mi llegada, como tambien que se extinga el metodo de gobierno que hasta áhora se há observado con ellos, cuyo movimiento puede producir mui funesto resultado. Todo lo que comunico á V. E. para su superior conocimiento, y fines que estime convenientes.

Dios gue. á V. E. m.^s a.^s Loreto 9 de Julio de 1822, Seg.^{do} de nuestra gloriosa Yndependencia.

AG.ⁿ FRNZ. DE S.ⁿ VICENTE (rúbrica).

[Addressed:] Exmo. Sor. Secret.^o de Estado y de Relacion. int.^{es} y exteriores. Mexico.

[TRANSLATION]

Your Excellency:

At four o'clock on the afternoon of the 21st of last June, the Imperial brig *San Carlos*, on which I had taken passage, cast anchor in this roadstead. I immediately went ashore for the purpose of getting information concerning the condition of public opinion with regard to our scheme, and to make a beginning with the affairs entrusted to me. But I was informed that after the oath of Independence had been taken, a certain Don Jose Maria Lopez, with the investiture of Captain and calling himself the Commissioner of the Empire, had had the oath taken once more. This was quite out of order and outside the prescribed rules, confusing the ideas of liberty with those of license, setting these people in motion with an absurd and discordant irregular election of an Ayuntamiento, and the formation of local companies. He reassumed in his own person all the jurisdictions, upsetting ideas to such an extent that some of the soldiers and citizens now denied obedience to the governor and the officers. All this was under pretext of a political commission given by the aforesaid Chief to Lopez at the time that the latter delivered to him a paper. This condition as I have ascertained, was the only motive for his coming from Mazatlan in the mail boat, named *Nuestra Señora del Rosario*, of this Province, which was found in that port, whither some of the sailors and soldiers of this Presidio took it secretly, under the pretext, as I have been informed, that the oath of Independence was not taken here.

Unfortunately the Governor and the Reverend Father President of these missions were absent from this Capital. I got into communication with them immediately, hinting to them the motive for my arrival and urging them to put in an appearance. In fact, on the 25th of the aforesaid month the first named one appeared, but as his serious indis-

position and old age do not permit him to discharge his obligations in their entirety, he petitioned me to excuse him from the command. I did so for the reasons which your Excellency will see from the copies numbered 1 and 2, which I am enclosing in order to commend to your Excellency the honorable actions of this Chief whom I have substituted for the present by *Alferez* Don Fernando de la Toba, inasmuch as Lieutenant Don Manuel Ruiz, to whom the office belongs by order of seniority is very far distant with a detachment on the northern frontier, and as they are the only officials in this Province. But if I am to regulate the orders of article 4 of the additional orders of my commission, which demands for that the exact esteem and affection of these inhabitants, it is of imperious necessity that since neither of the officials abovementioned possesses these qualities, this office be given promptly to a more fitting person. For, on the contrary, I foresee that very disagreeable consequences may result, as I am informing his Excellency the Minister of War and Navy on this date.

On the first of the present month, there arrived also the Reverend Father President, Fray Antonio Sanchez. I established my official relations with him on the following day, and assigned his office to him at once, as he gave the best proof of his adhesion to our scheme of Independence. But he died almost suddenly on the afternoon of the 4th of the aforesaid month from the results of his long journey of thirty-two leagues between this place and the Mission of Purisima which he had in charge.

In this state of affairs, and having taken measures of conciliation beforehand, it seemed to me the most prudent method to proceed gently to calm the exasperated minds of some and to annul the acts of Lopez by the creation of a new Ayuntamiento. In fact I have obtained my desires, and inform your Excellency that on the 2d of the aforesaid month the abovementioned corporation was installed, which, in order that it might enter immediately upon its duties, privately and with the greatest solemnity, took in my presence, the customary oath. The same was done in public by the town, the military, and the Religious on the following Sunday, the 7th of the abovenamed month, all of which appears from the records the attestations of which the provisional political Chief is sending to your Excellency by this same post.

From the abovementioned occurrences, your Excellency will conclude that our scheme, notwithstanding the abovesaid inconveniences, is already in force, and is established in this Capital of the Province of

Old and Baja California, according as its local situation permits. The same is true of the northern part, in accordance with the original certification of the military commandant there, which, marked number 3, I am enclosing to your Excellency for your superior information.

The greater part of the inhabitants of this Province live in the southern part, and since it is not easy to summon them to the Capital because of the distance, without doing them an injury and delaying my commission too much, I have thought it best to go to the Garrison of San Antonio for the purpose of installing another Ayuntamiento there and of adjusting more promptly the election of a delegate. I shall make that journey upon the arrival of the new Reverend Father President, whom I am awaiting in order to receive from him the proper oath and discuss with him the affairs pending in regard to the missions. Thence I shall sail to Alta California after making a report to your Excellency of the results of this undertaking. Meanwhile I am delivering to the provisional Political Chief here the decrees, orders, and documents which are to be observed in the new scheme.

The statistics, plan of the province, and projects in regard to the regulation of the Department of the Missions which I am forming, I shall send to your Excellency by the next post, with the understanding that in regard to this last matter, measures must be taken very promptly in order to quiet the natives of these missions, since they no longer wish to remain under the auspices of the Father Missionaries, which the latter claim in their temporal affairs as they have been continually representing to me since my arrival. They have asked also that the method of control which has been observed with regard to them hitherto be abolished, a movement which may produce very fatal results. I communicate all this to your Excellency for your superior information and for the purposes which you may deem advisable.

May God preserve your Excellency many years. Loreto, July 9, 1822, the Second Year of our glorious Independence.

AGUSTIN FERNANDEZ DE SAN VICENTE (rubric).

[Addressed:] His Excellency, the Secretary of State and of Domestic and Foreign Relations. Mexico.

27. THE MINISTER OF RELATIONS TO GOVERNOR SOLÁ, MEXICO, JULY 20, 1822

He dado cuenta al Emperador con la carta de V. Y. n.º 1.º de 13 de Abril ultimo á que acompaña las actas q comprueban el haber prestado

V Y el juram^{to} de independencia en union de los R. R. P. P. Prelados de esas Misiones, y oficialidad a consecuencia haberse decidido á reconocer las supremas autoridades del Ymperio; y habiendo entendido S. M. Y. con mucha satisfaccion por dhos. documentos, q la conducta patriotica de V Y de los militares, y demas habitantes, ha llenado sus deseos, me manda le manifieste á V Y en respuesta, para su satisfaccion y de los individuos q refieren las citadas actas.

D. Julio 20 de 1822.

(Rúbrica).

[Addressed:] Sr. Gobernd.^r de la Alta California. Monterey.

[TRANSLATION]

I have informed the Emperor by means of your Excellency's letter, number 1, of the 13th of last April, accompanying the reports which attest the fact that your Excellency has taken the oath of Independence together with the Reverend Father Prelates of those Missions and the officials, in consequence of their having decided to recognize the supreme authorities of the Empire. His exalted Majesty having seen to his great gratification from the aforesaid documents that the patriotic conduct of your Excellency, as well as of the military and of the other inhabitants, has met his desires, orders me to inform you thereof in reply for your gratification and that of the persons mentioned in the abovesaid records.

Given on the 20th of July, 1822.

(Rubric.)

[Addressed:] The Governor of Alta California. Monterey.

28. THE MINISTER OF RELATIONS TO GOVERNOR SOLÁ, MEXICO, JULY 20, 1822

Deseando S M Y que la correspondencia q debe llebar esa Prova con este Supremo Gob.^{no} se siga en lo succivo con la mayor prontitud me manda encargue á V Y q por su parte active cuanto sea posible dha correspondencia, proponiendo el plan q le parezca mas adaptable á V Y a fin de q. no se padezcan demoras ni atrasos en un negocio q tanto interesa al mejor servicio de la nacion.

De orden de S M Y lo comunico a V S p.^a su intelig.^a y cumplim.^{to}
D. Julio 20 de 822.

(Rúbrica.)

[Addressed:] S. Gobern.^{dor} de la N. California. Monterey.

[TRANSLATION]

Since it is his Exalted Majesty's wish that the correspondence of that Province with this Supreme Government be attended to with the greatest promptness, he orders me to charge your Excellency to push the said correspondence so far as you are concerned as much as possible by proposing the plan that appears most suitable to your Excellency, in order that neither delay nor obstruction may be suffered in a matter that interests so greatly the best service of the nation.

By order of his Exalted Majesty, I communicate this to your Excellency for your information and obedience.

July 20, 1822 (rubric).

[Addressed:] Governor of New California. Monterey.

29. THE MINISTER OF RELATIONS TO GOVERNOR SOLÁ, MEXICO, JULY 20,
1822

De orden del Emperador acompaño á V Y. la adjunta coleccion de impresos de todos los decretos, y orns publicados por el Ministerio de mi cargo, desde la instalacion de la Junta provisional Gubernativa hta. la fecha, para q con los demas impresos q. recibirá V Y igualm.^{te} por los otros Ministerios á q.^{na} al efecto he comunicado hoy la orn conv.^{te} pueda instruir a los havitantes de esa Prov.^a de la marcha gloriosa de nro sistema, disponiendo su cumplim.^{to} publicandolos, y circulando los a q.^{na} corresponda.

D. Julio 20, [18]22.

(Rúbrica.)

[Endorsed:] Son 72 impresos los q se remitieron, fuera de las garantes.

[Addressed:] Sr. Gob.^{or} de la N. California. Monterey.

[TRANSLATION]

By order of the emperor, I am sending herewith to your Excellency, the enclosed collection of printed sheets of all the decrees and orders published to this date by the Ministry under my charge since the installation of the provisional administrative Council, so that together with the other publications to be received also by your Excellency from the other Ministries to which I have on this date communicated the proper order, you may instruct the inhabitants of that Province concerning the glorious progress of our scheme. You will take

measures to have them observed by publishing them and circulating them among the persons whom they concern.

July 20, 1822 (Rubric).

[*Endorsed:*] There are 72 printed sheets which were sent, beside the guarantees.

[*Addressed:*] Governor of Nueva California. Monterey.

30. THE MINISTER OF RELATIONS TO THE SECRETARIES OF CONGRESS,
JULY 20, 1822

Primera Secretaria de Estado
Seccion de Gobierno

Exmos. Señores.

Con fecha 13 de Abril prox.^o pasado, dá parte el Coronel D.ⁿ Pablo Vicente Sola de haberse prestado el juramento de independenciam en la Nueva California el 11 del referido Abril; y á fin de que V. E. E. se sirva poner este suceso en el conocimiento del Soberano Congreso, tengo el honor de acompañar á V. E. E. de orden de S. M. Y. originales los documentos que conprueban haberse verificado aquel acto.

Dios gue. á V. E. E. m. a. México 20 de Julio de 1822.

(Rúbrica.)

[*Addressed:*] Exmos. Señores Diputados. Secretarios del Soberano Congreso.

[TRANSLATION]

Main Office Secretary of State
Government section

Your Excellencies:

On the 13th day of last April, Colonel Don Pablo Vicente Sola reports that he has taken the oath of Independence in New California on the 11th of the aforesaid April. In order that your Excellencies may have the kindness to inform the Sovereign Congress of this event, I have the honor to enclose herewith for your Excellencies, in accordance with the order of his Exalted Majesty, the original documents proving that the above action has taken place.

May God preserve your Excellencies many years. Mexico, July 20, 1822.

(Rubric.)

[*Addressed:*] Their Excellencies the Delegate Secretaries of the Sovereign Congress:

31. THE MINISTER OF RELATIONS TO THE MINISTER OF WAR, JULY 20,
1822

Primera Secretaria de Estado
Seccion de Gobierno

Exmo. Señor.

Con fecha 13 de Abril ultimo avisa el Coronel D. Pablo Vicente Sola Gobernador de la Nueva California haberse decidido aquella Provincia á reconocer las Supremas autoridades del Ymperio, prestando el correspondiente juramento de independencian el 11 del referido Abril: y habiendo puesto en noticia de S. M. Y. la carta de Sola y docum.^{tos} que acompaña en comprobacion de haberse verificado aquel acto, me manda lo participe á V. E. como lo executo a fin de q por el Ministerio de su cargo disponga se remita á dho Gob.^{or} una coleccion completa de todo los decretos, y orns q. q [sic] se hayan expedido p.^r su conducto desde la instalacion de la junta Provisional Gubernativa hasta el dia.

(Rúbrica.)

D. Julio 20 de 822 (rúbrica).

[Addressed:] Exmo. Sr. Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de la Guerra.

id de Hacienda

id de justicia.

[TRANSLATION]

Main Office, Secretary of State
Government section

Your Excellency:

Under date of the 13th of last April, Colonel Don Pablo Vicente Sola, Governor of New California, reports that that Province has resolved to recognize the supreme authorities of the Empire, by taking the proper oath of Independence on the 11th of the aforesaid April. Having brought to the notice of his Exalted Majesty Sola's letter and accompanying documents proving that that action has taken place, the latter orders me to inform your Excellency of it, as I am now doing, so that the Ministry under your charge may order that there be sent to the said governor a complete collection of all decrees and orders that may have been issued through you to this date since the installation of the provisional administrative Council.

(Rubric.)

July 20, 1822 (rubric).

[Addressed:] Secretary of State and of the War Office.

Id. of Hacienda.

Id. of Justice.

32. GUARDIAN FRAY JOSEF GASOL TO THE MINISTER OF RELATIONS, JULY
26, 1822

Exmo. Señor.

El día de ayer entre tres y quatro de la tarde recibí carta del R. P. Fr. Mariano Payeras, Comisario Prefecto de las diez y nueve misiones que están al cargo de este Colegio en la Alta-California, fha en S. Carlos de Monterey á 14 de abril ultimo, en la q.^e me comunica lo que sigue.

"Los asuntos políticos del día me han trahido á esta de S. Carlos, al lado del Gefe de la Provincia. Llegada la orn. para la jura de la Yndependencia, hubo en Monterey día 9 del presente ábril, una junta de oficiales comandantes, y PP. Prefecto, y ex-Prefecto, en lugar del Presidente, y la resulta fue haberse jurado la Yndependencia en Monterey el día 11. y circulado por cordillera para q.^e en todos los puntos de esta Nueva California se haga lo mismo. Tambien se trata en el día de la elecc^{na} de un Diputado y Suplente para las cortes, de que se ha dado parte á los Neofitos."

Y consecuente á lo que ofrecí el viernes de Dolores 29 de marzo pp^{do} ante los Señores de la extinguida Regencia, q.^e V. E. presencio, me apresuro á comunicarlo á V. E. á fin de que sirva elevarlo al conocimiento del Emperador para satisfacc^{na} de S. M. Y. en inteligencia de que en la primera y la única noticia q.^e hasta el día he recibido.

Dios gue á V. E. m. a.^s

Colegio Ap.^{co} de S. Fern.^{do} de Mexico y Julio 26 de 1822.

FR. JOSEF GASOL, Guard.^{na} (rúbrica).

[Addressed:] Exmo. Señor D. José Man.^l de Herrera.

[TRANSLATION]

Your Excellency:

Yesterday, between three and four o'clock in the afternoon, I received a letter from the Reverend Father Fray Mariano Payeras, Commissary Prefect of the nineteen Missions in charge of this College in Alta California, under date of San Carlos, Monterey, the 14th of last April, in which the following was communicated to me:

"The political affairs of the day have brought me to this [mission] of San Carlos at the side of the Chief of the Province. Upon the arrival of the order for taking the oath of Independence, there was held in Monterey on the 9th of the present month of April, a meeting made up of Official Commandants, the Father Prefect

and the Father ex-Prefect, in place of the President. The result was that the oath of the Independence was taken on the 11th day, and circulated through the circuit in order that the same might be done in all parts of this New California. Plans are also being made now for the election of the delegate and substitute for the Cortes of which the neophytes have been notified."

In consequence of my offer made on Good Friday, the 29th of last March, in the presence of the gentlemen of the Regency that was abolished, and of which your Excellency was a witness, I hasten to communicate this to your Excellency, in order that you may be pleased to bring it to the notice of the Emperor for the gratification of his Exalted Majesty, informing him of the first and only news that I have as yet received.

May God preserve you many years.

The Apostolic College of San Fernando. Mexico, July 26, 1822.

FRAY JOSEF GASOL, Guardian (rubric).

[Addressed:] His Excellency, Don José Manuel de Herrera.

33. THE MINISTER OF RELATIONS TO THE GUARDIAN OF THE COLEGIO DE
SAN FERNANDO, MEXICO, SEPTEMBER 26, 1822

Di cuenta a S. M. el Emperador con la carta de V. R. fha de hoy en q inserta la del R. P. Fray Mariano Payeras, Prefecto de las misiones de la Alta California contrahida esta á comunicar a V. R. haberse jurado la independ.^a en aquella Prov.^a y habiendose enterado S. M. Y. y de quanto expone, aquel religioso, sobre el particular, lo aviso a V R en contestacion.

D. Spbre 26 de 822 (rúbrica).

[Addressed:] R. P. Guard.^a de Sn Fernando.

[TRANSLATION]

I informed his Majesty, the Emperor, together with the letter of your Reverence of this date, in which was enclosed that of the Reverend Father Fray Mariano Payeras, Prefect of the Missions of Alta California, in which was communicated to your Reverence the fact that the oath of Independence had been taken in that Province. His Exalted Majesty having taken note of what that Religious wrote in regard to the matter, I am advising your Reverence thereof in reply.

September 26, 1822 (rubric).

[Addressed:] Reverend Father Guardian of San Fernando.

34. THE SECRETARIES OF CONGRESS TO THE MINISTER OF RELATIONS,
JULY 29, 1822

Sria del Gob.º Cong.º

Exmo. Sor.

Queda enterado el Soberano Congreso Constituyente de que el día 9. de Abril del corriente año, el Gobernador político y militar de la Provincia de la Nueva California con las demas autoridades prestó el juramento de obediencia á las ordenes y decretos expedidos por el Supremo Gobierno establecido en este Ymperio, despues de hecha su Yndependencia; y lo decimos á V. E. en contestacion á su Oficio de 20 de este mes, con el cual nos remite los docum.^{tos} originales q.º prueban haberse verificado aquel acto.

Dios gue á V. E. m. a. Mexico 29 de Julio de 1822.

MARCIAL ZEBADUAY, Dipº Srio. (rúbrica).

FRAN.^{co} ANT.º TARRAZO, Dip.º Srio. (rúbrica).

[Addressed:] Exmo Sor. Srio de Estado y del Despº de relaciones.

[TRANSLATION]

Office of the Secretary of the Government. Congress

Your Excellency:

The Sovereign Constituent Congress is informed that on the 9th day of April of the current year, the Political and Military Governor of the Province of New California, together with the other authorities, took the oath of obedience to the orders and decrees issued by the Supreme Government established in this Empire after its Independence had been obtained. We are writing this to your Excellency in reply to your official despatch of the 20th of this month, in which you sent us the original documents certifying that the said act had been carried out.

May God preserve your Excellency many years. Mexico, July 29, 1822.

MARCIAL ZEBADUAY, Deputy Secretary (rubric).

FRANCISCO ANTONIO TARRAZO, Deputy Secretary (rubric).

[Addressed:] His Excellency, the Secretary of State and of the Office of Relations.

35. THE MINISTER OF RELATIONS TO CANON FERNÁNDEZ, MEXICO,
NOVEMBER 11, 1822

Di cuenta a S M. el Emperador con la carta de VS. de 9 de Julio ultimo y documento q á ella acompaña; y habiendose enterado con satisfaccion de los pasos, y medidas q VS. ha tomado para llenar cumplidam.^{te} el interesante objeto de su Comision en esas Provincias, se ha servido disponer diga á VS no duda continuara dando pruebas de su celo, y actividad en el desempeño de este negocio, y que espera la estadistica el plano de esa Prov.^a el proyecto sobre arreglo de misiones q ofrece en su citada e igualm.^{te} V S. haga quantas observaciones le ocurran con fundam^{to} como q tiene á la vista, el estado en que se encuentran esos Pueblos, p.^a q. con presencia de todo pueda el Supremo Gob.^{no} dictar las providencias oportunas y proporsionar á esos habitantes las felicidades q son consig.^{tes} al particular interes con q los mira S M Y. de cuya orn se lo comunico a VS en respuesta, p.^a su intelig.^a y fines consig.^{tes}

D. Nov.^{re} 15 de 822 (rúbrica).

[Addressed:] Sr. D. D. Ag.^a Fernz de Sn Vic.^{te}

[TRANSLATION]

I reported to his Majesty the Emperor your Excellency's letter of the 9th of last July and the accompanying document. Having learned with gratification of the measures and steps taken by your Excellency to execute in its entirety the important purpose of your commission in those Provinces, he has been pleased to order me to tell your Excellency that he has no doubt that you will continue to furnish proofs of your zeal and activity in the discharge of this matter, and that he is awaiting the statistics, the plan of that Province, the project in regard to the management of the Missions which you offer in your aforesaid letter; and [asks] also that your Excellency make all the observations that occur to you and that are well founded, so that the Supreme Government having a knowledge of the present condition of those towns, may, in view of all the factors, take the proper measures, and afford to those inhabitants the blessings resulting from the interest with which his Exalted Majesty views them. This order I am communicating to your Excellency in reply for your information and for the proper ends.

Given November 15, 1822 (rubric).

[Addressed:] Doctor Don Agustin Fernandez de San Vicente.

36. THE MINISTER OF RELATIONS TO CANON FERNÁNDEZ, NOVEMBER 15,
1822

Por la carta de V. S. de 9. de Julio ultimo queda enterado S. M. el Emperador q Dn José M.^a Lopez q se titulaba Comisionado del Ymperio hizó jurar de nuevo la Yndependencia, despues de haberse verificado este acto en la Baja California, originando éste procedim.^{to} de Lopez los movim.^{tos} é inconvenientes q Vs indica en su citada; y habiendose servido disponer S M Y. q. VS diga el paradero q ha tenido ese individuo, si continua perturbando el orn; y a q se contrae fue el encargo q^l le hizo el Gobernador al entregarle a q el pliego q motivó su arribo desde Masatlan, lo comunico a V. S. de imperial orn p.^a su intelig.^a y cumplimiento.

D. Nov.^{ro} 15 de 822 (rúbrica).

[Addressed:] S. D. D. Ag.ⁿ Fernz de Sn Vic.^{te} Loreto, ó donde se halle.

[TRANSLATION]

His Majesty, the Emperor, has learned by your Excellency's letter of the 9th of last July, that Don José Maria Lopez, who styled himself Commissioner of the Empire, had the oath of Independence taken anew, after it had already been done once in Baja California. This proceeding of Lopez originated the disturbances and confusion noted in your Excellency's abovementioned letter. His exalted Majesty having been pleased to order your Excellency to inform him of the whereabouts of that individual, whether he continues to disturb the settled order, and what obligation was contracted and what order was given him by the Governor when he gave that person the paper which determined his coming from Masatlan, I am communicating it to Your Excellency by Imperial order for your information and its execution.

Given November 15, 1822 (rubric).

[Addressed:] Doctor Don Agustin Fernandez de San Vicente. Loreto, or wherever he may be.

37. CAPTAIN-GENERAL ANASTASIO BUSTAMANTE TO THE MINISTER OF
RELATIONS, MEXICO, DECEMBER 16, 1822

jura de Yndep^a
Num^o 102

Exmo. Sor.

El Comandante Gral. de las Provincias Occidentales de mi mando, Brigadier D. Antonio Cordero con fha. 13. del anterior Nov^e me dice lo que Copio.

"Exmo. Sor. = Por el adjunto documento se impondrá V. E. de que el Capitan de la 3.^a Compañia del Escuadrón de Mazatlan D. Pablo de la Portilla, y Comand^{te} de la Divicion del mismo Cuerpo que existe en la Alta California, juró la Yndependencia de este Ymperio con toda la tropa de su mando el 24. del ultimo Abril; y lo dirijo á V. E. para su superior inteligencia."

Y lo inserto á V. E. con inclusion del Expresado documento para que se sirva alevarlo al augusto conocimiento de S. M. Y. esta plausible noticia.

Dios gue. á V. E. m.^e a.^e Mexico Diciembre 16. de 1822.

Exmo. Sor.

ANAST^o BUSTAM^{te} (rúbrica).

[Addressed:] Exmo. Sor. Secretario de Estado y del Despacho de relaciones Ynteriores y exteriores.

[In the margin:] El Capⁿ Gral de dhas Prov^{as} Ynsera oficio en q.^e el Comand.^{te} Gral de las de occidente, le participa haverse jurado la Yndependencia en la alta California.

[TRANSLATION]

Oath of Independence.

Your Excellency:

The commander-in-chief of the Western Provinces under my charge, Brigadier Don Antonio Cordero, writes me under date of the 13th of the preceding month of November, as per the enclosed copy:

"Your Excellency: Your Excellency will note by the enclosed document that the Captain of the 3d Company of the Troop of Mazatlan, Don Pablo de la Portilla, and the Commander of the division of the said body stationed in Alta California, took the oath of Independence of this Empire with all the troops under his command on the 24th of last April. This I am writing to your Excellency for your superior information."

I am inclosing this to your Excellency together with the aforesaid document in order that you may bring this bit of news to the august knowledge of his Exalted Majesty.

May God preserve your Excellency many years. Mexico, December 16, 1822.

Your Excellency,

ANASTASIO BUSTAMANTE (rubric).

[Addressed:] His Excellency, the Secretary of State and of the Office of Domestic and Foreign Relations.

[In the margin:] The Captain General of the said Provinces encloses an official despatch in which the Commander-in-chief of the Western Provinces informs him of the taking of the oath of Independence in Alta California.

BOOK REVIEWS

Acte Final de la Session de La Havane (Deuxième Session de l'Institut)
22-27 Janvier 1917. *Résolutions et Projets.* BY INSTITUT AMÉRICAIN
DE DROIT INTERNATIONAL. (New York: Oxford University Press,
1917. Pp. xii, 129.)

Para una mente desarrollada y llegada a la madurez dentro de esa atmósfera inflexible que se llama el Derecho Romano, es desconcertante el estudio de ciertas obras en que se exponen puntos relativos al Derecho Internacional. Quizá la ausencia de esta rama del Derecho en las legislaciones clásicas, a lo menos en las formas que ha asumido después de Grocio, y lo incierto e inestable de los principios que lo constituyen, sean causa esa desazón mental que sufren los que ven el Derecho dentro de las formas de ese portentoso organismo que fué la mejor herencia legada a los hombres por la Señora del Mundo.

Los conceptos de Ley, de universalidad de la misma y de sanción aparecen trastocados, vistos a través de prismas extraños, cuando se entra en este terreno delicado de las relaciones entre los pueblos. Las prácticas seguidas en estas relaciones, prácticas que carecen de ciertos rasgos necesarios para constituir un verdadero cuerpo legal, aun cuando sea en estado de formación, dependen de circunstancias tales que casi conducen al espíritu a una desilusión crónica. "La fuerza: he ahí el Derecho Internacional", claman los pesimistas. "Vano es que se luche

[TRANSLATION]

The study of certain works that set forth points relative to international law is disconcerting to a mind developed and matured within that inflexible atmosphere called Roman Law. Perhaps the absence of this branch of law in the classical systems of legislation, at least in the forms that it has assumed since Grotius, and the uncertainty and instability of the principles constituting it, are the cause of that mental disquiet suffered by those who see the law within the forms of that marvelous organism which was the greatest inheritance bequeathed to men by the Mistress of the World [Rome].

The concepts of law, of the universality of the same, and its sanction, appear to be inverted and seen through strange prisms, when one enters this delicate terrain of the relations among peoples. The practices followed in these relations, practices that lack certain features necessary to constitute a true legal body,

contra ella en forma que no sea la de la fuerza misma. El que tenga mejores armas que imponga *su derecho*; el que goce de mayor potencialidad económica, que destruya al enemigo armado, por medio de ruina y hambre; el que sea totalmente débil, que recurra a alianzas; el que no tenga ayuda de ningún género, que desaparezca." Y acuden a la historia para justificar su pesimismo.

¿Cuán lejos habrá que retroceder en el tiempo para dar sentido cabal a la doctrina de las nacionalidades? ¿Cuando nacieron éstas? antes de que Roma las absorbiera? después de que se desprendieron de Roma, marcadas con el glorioso sello latino? cuándo, menos heterogéneas que hoy, peleaban siguiendo caudillos personales? cuando nació su lengua y cuando cantaron sus poetas? o cuando, en los tiempos modernos, sus literatos hicieron de la idea nacional un sentimiento, una bandera, una tradición y un ideal?

Hoy que, como bajo la vara de un mago, van a nacer naciones en Europa y otras van a morir, ¿quién saludará a las naciones nuevas? quién llorará por las que desaparezcan? ¿Será definitiva la división? ¿Quedarán conformes los pueblos con los límites territoriales que se les asignen y con las condiciones económicas en que se les haga empezar su vida autónoma, o su nueva vida, más amplia o más restringida? ¿Morirán las ambiciones personales? ¿Perderá su brillo deslumbrador el oropel de las conquistas?

[TRANSLATION]

although it be in a state of formation, depend on circumstances such that they almost conduce in the intellect a chronic disillusion. "Force is International Law" cry the pessimists. "It is useless to struggle against it unless by the use of force itself. He who has the better arms, let him impose *his law*; he who enjoys the greater economic potentiality, let him destroy the armed enemy by means of ruin and starvation; he who is totally weak, let him have recourse to alliances; he who has no assistance of any kind, let him disappear." And they call upon history to justify their pessimism.

How far back in time will one have to go to give an exact meaning to the doctrine of nationalities? When did nationalities arise? Before Rome absorbed them? Since they separated from Rome, marked with the glorious Latin seal? When less heterogeneous than now, they fought under personal leaders? When their languages arose, and when their poets sang? Or when in modern times, their litterati made of the national idea a sentiment, a banner, a tradition, and an ideal?

Today, when, as if under the wand of a magician, nations are about to be born in Europe, and others are about to die, who will salute the new nations; who will weep over those that expire? Will the division be definitive? Will peoples consent to the territorial limits assigned them, and to the economic con-

O ¿habrá, por fin, un freno poderoso que contenga los potros de la codicia prestos a desbocarse?

El gran problema del Derecho Internacional es el de siempre: ¿Cuándo habrá un castigo seguro que amenace al posible trasgresor? ¿Cuándo un temor saludable de algo positivo e ineludible, no sujeto a los azares de las aventuras guerras, en que quien triunfa es inocente y el que perece es criminal, sofrenará a los pueblos, como ya sofrena a los individuos?

Si descartamos el uso de la fuerza, la mejor sanción hasta hoy descubierta es la de la *opinión pública*, adversa al delincuente. Pero esta sanción es nugatoria, ya que dicha opinión pública, para ser lo que con este término se quiere expresar, debe ser *ilustrada, imparcial, y unánime*; es decir, debe ser algo que no existe y que no existirá por mucho tiempo. ¿Sería mucho atrevimiento el decir que no existirá jamás?

Por *ilustrada* debe entenderse ilustrada en general y con respecto al problema especial que se debate. Nadie podrá decir que en la guerra cuyas últimas etapas presenciamos hoy se contó en los países contendientes con pueblos de cultura general tan grande que pudieran ver claramente todas las fases de las cuestiones que se debatieron. Por lo que hace a conocimientos especiales, ¿cuántos de entre los hombres cultos podrán afirmar que se han dado cuenta cabal de los factores sociales, étnicos, políticos, económicos, religiosos y hasta literarios y de

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ditions under which their autonomous life, or their new, and more ample or more restricted life, is made to begin? Will personal ambitions die? Will the tinsel of conquests having become tarnished lose its brilliancy?

Or, will there be, in fine, a powerful check to restrain colts of cupidity ready to break out?

The great problem of International Law is that of all times: when will there be a sure punishment that will threaten the possible transgressor? When will there be a healthy fear of something positive and unavoidable, not subject to the hazards of future wars, in which he who triumphs is innocent and he who loses is guilty, that will restrain peoples as now it restrains individuals?

If we reject the use of force, the best sanction yet discovered is that of *public opinion* against the guilty person. But this sanction is nugatory, since the said public opinion, to be that which is meant to be expressed by this term, ought to be intelligent, *impartial*, and *unanimous*—that is to say, it ought to be something which does not exist and which will not exist for a long time. Would it be very rash to assert that it will never exist?

By *intelligent* must be understood intelligent in general and with respect to the special problem under debate. No one can say that in the war whose last remnants we are today witnessing the contending countries had peoples of general

otros géneros menos aparentes que se han agitado en las capas subyacentes de este cataclismo?

¿Puede ser *imparcial* la *opinión pública*, aun cuando la supongamos ilustrada? Es evidente que no. El sofisma de considerar justo lo que deseamos, hermoso lo que amamos y venerable y puro lo que respetamos tiene aplicación en los Estados lo mismo que en los individuos. Cada patria es arca sagrada para sus hijos. Muchos alemanes de buena fe jamás reconocerán que Alemania fué criminal. Aun entre los neutrales, la opinión no ha sido fruto de análisis sino expresión de intereses e inclinaciones.

Por lo que hace a la *unanimidad*, su falta es obvia en la *opinión pública*, tanto de los beligerantes cuanto de los neutrales, lo cual deja a los contendientes margen bastante de justificación para su conducta. Recuérdesse cuán dividida está aun hoy día, la opinión en los Estados Unidos con respecto a la Guerra con México en 1846-48.

Los periódicos, por más que se diga, ni interpretan una opinión pública existente ni la forman. Entre halagar las pasiones de los que compran las hojas, dar las noticias de sensación, llevar la voz de algún partido u obedecer la consigna de un magnate, van pasando la vida con una inconsistencia no desprovista de rasgos divertidos. Algo análogo puede decirse acerca de la opinión, tal como se expresa en los comicios.

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culture so great that they could clearly see all phases of the questions which were debated. In that which related to special knowledge, how many from among cultured men can affirm that they have sufficiently considered the social, ethnic, political, economic, religious, and even literary, factors and those less apparent which have been agitated in the pretexts underlying this cataclysm?

Can *public opinion* be *impartial* even though we suppose it to be intelligent? Evidently not. The sophism of considering to be just what we desire, to be beautiful what we love, and to be venerable and pure what we respect, has its application to states the same as to individuals. Each country is a sacred ark to its children. Many Germans of good faith will never recognize that Germany was criminal. Even among neutrals, opinion has not been the fruit of analysis but the expression of interests and inclinations.

In what relates to *unanimity*, its lack is obvious in *public opinion*, both on the side of belligerents and of neutrals—which leaves to contending parties a sufficient margin of justification for their conduct. Let one reflect how divided is public opinion even yet in the United States with respect to the war with Mexico in 1846-1848.

Newspapers, for all that is said, neither interpret an existing public opinion nor form it. Between flattering the passions of those who buy the sheet, publishing sensational news, championing some party, or obeying the commands of

Pregúntese por qué entraron a la Gran Guerra los Estados Unidos. Éste es un caso típico de formación de la opinión pública. La nación se resistió por algún tiempo a lanzarse al conflicto; pero al fin el pueblo en su mayoría aprobó la actitud del Gobierno al abrazar la causa de los aliados. Desde los hombres de letras hasta los vaqueros darán respuestas divergentes, tales como éstas: "Para destruir la máquina militar prusiana"; "Para dar seguridad a la democracia en el mundo"; "Para hacer triunfar el principio de las nacionalidades"; "Para defender a América de un peligro cierto"; "Para libertar a Bélgica"; "Para vengar a las víctimas del Lusitania"; etc., etc. Y ¿quién dudará de que las víctimas del Lusitania y Edith Cavell hicieron más por unificar la opinión pública que el principio de las nacionalidades o la seguridad de la democracia? Por supuesto que no hay para qué enumerar las respuestas risibles y absurdas que muchos dieron, ni ésta, la más absurda y, sin embargo, la que hoy en todas partes representa un criterio arcaico, si se quiere, pero poderoso y humano; absurdo, pero como otras muchas cosas absurdas, representante de un sentimiento respetable y vivificador: "¡Al diablo con el motivo! La patria está en guerra, y eso basta. Vamos." Algo muy tocado de individualismo nacional. Algo vitando para las teorías modernísimas, tan racionales y tan sensatas. Recuérdese que el canto más vibrante de la libertad, La Marsellesa, recurre al sentimiento de patria para conmover; y la bandera, esa otra cosa antigua

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a magnate, they continue to pass their life in a fickleness not devoid of traces of amusement. Something analogous to this might be said of the opinion expressed in assemblies.

Let one ask himself why the United States entered the Great War. This is a typical case of the formation of public opinion. The nation resisted for some time to hurl itself into the conflict, but at last the majority of the people approved the attitude of the government in embracing the cause of the allies. From men of letters to cowboys, different answers will be given, such as the following: "To destroy the Prussian military machine"; "To make the world safe for democracy"; "To cause the principle of nationalities to triumph"; "To defend America from a certain danger"; "To free Belgium"; "To avenge the victims of the Lusitania"; etc., etc. Who doubts that the victims of the Lusitania and Edith Cavell did more to unify public opinion than the principle of nationalities or the safety of democracy? Certainly there is no reason for enumerating the laughable and absurd answers that many gave, nor this, the most absurd and yet, that which in all parts today represents an archaic standard, if one wishes, but a powerful and human standard: "Devil take the motive! The country is at war and that is enough. Let us go to it." This is indeed somewhat touched with national individualism. It is something to be avoided for the very modern

que tantos verían desaparecer con gusto, es el tema del himno nacional de la más grande de las democracias.

Nos hemos extendido sobre este punto porque el libro de que tratamos le da importancia capital; y no para negar el valor de la opinión pública sino para pedir que se tomen muy en cuenta estas reflexiones antes de ponerla como juez supremo de la conducta de los pueblos. Otras materias, como la creación de un consejo de conciliación y de una unión judicial de las naciones, según el tipo de la Unión Postal Universal de 1909, aparecen en las recomendaciones aprobadas; pero no las analizamos por hallarlas menos expuestas a malas interpretaciones que la primera.

El libro contiene, además de las recomendaciones, una serie de siete apéndices, en los que se las analiza y se tratan puntos tales como las bases fundamentales del Derecho Internacional, los derechos fundamentales del Continente Americano, un Proyecto de Reglamento de la Neutralidad Marítima, las bases relativas a la organización de una Corte de Justicia Arbitral, la creación de una "Unión Continental o Consejo de Conciliación" y los derechos fundamentales de los Estados. Todo muy importante y muy digno de estudio y meditación.

Hablando de los vacíos y defectos que habrá que remediar en lo porvenir, el libro ofrece un resumen del estudio sobre "El Derecho Internacional del Porvenir", de don Alejandro Álvarez. En el párrafo

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theories, which are so rational and sensible. Let one be mindful that the most stirring song of liberty, the Marsellaise, has recourse to the feeling of country to rouse the emotions; and the flag, that other ancient thing that many would see disappear with pleasure, is the theme of the national hymn of the greatest of democracies.

We have gone into this point at length, for the book of which we are treating gives it a capital importance; and not to deny the value of public opinion, but to beg that these observations be taken seriously into account before placing public opinion as the supreme judge of the conduct of peoples. Other matters, such as the creation of a council of conciliation and of a judicial union of the nations, like the type of the Universal Postal Union of 1909, appear in the approved recommendations; but we shall not analyze them as they are less liable to bad interpretation than the first.

The book contains, in addition to the recommendations, a series of seven appendices, in which the recommendations are analyzed, and points are discussed such as the Fundamental Bases of International Law, the Fundamental Rights of the American Continent, a Project for the Regulation of Maritime Neutrality, the Bases relative to the Organization of an Arbitral Court of Justice, the Creation of a "Continental Union or Council of Conciliation", and the Fundamental Laws of States. All very important and well worth study and meditation.

marcado con el número 11 dice el autor: "La sanción de la opinión pública, única que posee en la actualidad el Derecho Internacional, es considerable y tiene importancia creciente; pero habrá que reforzarla y hacerla más eficaz todavía agregándole otras sanciones de carácter coercitivo". En el párrafo siguiente dice: "Consideremos ahora . . . los fines que los gobiernos beligerantes y la opinión pública universal desean ver realizados después de la guerra actual." Y más tarde: "Por primera vez en la historia de la civilización, los gobiernos beligerantes y la opinión pública manifiestan, con motivo de un cataclismo social, sus ideas acerca de la nueva organización que ha de sucederle." Y así, frecuentemente, la opinión pública, ora en vías de formación, ora ya constituida, corre al través del libro como un motivo musical se desliza al través de un composición sinfónica.

En las bases fundamentales del Derecho Internacional se dice (Art. 5) que "las reglas jurídicas que rigen las relaciones entre los Estados son universales, continentales, nacionales, de escuela, particulares o de civilización". Naturalmente es de esperarse que surjan conflictos entre ellas. ¿Cómo resolverlos? ¿Qué reglas tendrán preferencia? No parece ponerse en claro este punto. El lenguaje a las veces no es del todo jurídico. El empleo de la palabra *notamment* diluye, por decirlo así, los preceptos y les da vaguedad (Arts. 12, 16 y 17). Lo mismo puede decirse de la palabra *principalement* que aparece en el artículo 20.

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In speaking of the deficiencies and defects that will have to be remedied in the future, the book offers a resume of the study on "The International Law of the future" of Alejandro Álvarez. In paragraph marked number 11, the author says: "The sanction of public opinion, the only sanction that international law possesses at the present time, is considerable and has an increasing importance; but it will have to be reinforced and made more efficacious yet by adding to it other sanctions of a coercive character." In the next paragraph he says, "Let us now consider . . . the ends that the belligerent governments and universal public opinion wish to see realized after the present war"; and later "For the first time in the history of civilization, belligerent governments and public opinion show, because of a social cataclysm, their ideas in regard to the new organization that is to succeed the war". Thus frequently, public opinion, whether in process of formation, or already constituted, runs through the book as a musical motif glides through a symphony composition.

In the "Fundamental Bases of International law", it is stated (art. 5) that "the juridical rules governing the relations between states are universal, continental, national in school, particulars, or civilization". It is naturally to be expected that conflicts will arise between them. How are they to be solved? What rules are to have the preference? This point does not appear to be well ex-

De grande importancia es el proyecto de Reglamento de la Neutralidad Marítima. En este terreno se han librado las principales campañas del Derecho Internacional. Al principio que consiste en considerar en primer término los derechos de los beligerantes, y en segundo los de los neutrales, se opone cada día con más vigor el de la prioridad de los derechos de los neutrales. En de esperarse que esta regla triunfe en definitiva, para bien de la humanidad. Los artículos relativos a la Asamblea de los Neutrales tienen la imprecisión de lo que se hace sobre situaciones imaginadas y no sobre hechos consumados. Grandes e inquietantes preguntas vienen a la mente sobre quiénes formarán esa asamblea; sobre si los neutrales estarán dispuestos a formarla, ya que los intereses de todos no están comprometidos en un mismo grado ni en una misma dirección; sobre si todos los neutrales gozarán de plena libertad para unirse o nó, según lo juzguen conveniente; y otras que sería largo enumerar. Sin embargo, todo esfuerzo que se haga en sentido de proteger los intereses neutrales es digno de aplauso.

El libro se muestra hostil a la "League to Enforce Peace". Después de citar estas palabras, que parecen arrancadas del labio del Presidente Wilson: "si uno de los miembros de la liga declara la guerra a otro miembro de la misma, sin haber sometido previamente la diferencia al referido tribunal o consejo, todos los otros países deberán unirse para tomar su defensa contra el agresor", afirma: "el agresor puede ser

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plained. The language at times is not at all juridical. The employment of the word *notamment* weakens, as it were, the precepts, and gives them a vagueness (arts. 12, 16, and 17). The same may be said of the word *principalement* which appears in art. 20.

Of great importance is the "Project for the Regulation of Maritime Neutrality". It is in this terrain that the chief campaigns of international law have been waged. To the principle consisting of a consideration firstly of the rights of belligerents, and secondly of those of neutrals, the priority of the rights of neutrals is daily being opposed more vigorously. It is to be hoped that the rule will triumph definitively, for the good of humanity. The articles relative to the "Assembly of Neutrals" have that lack of precision which is made on imaginary situations and not on actual facts. There come to mind great and disquieting questions as to who will constitute that assembly; as to whether the neutrals will be ready to constitute it, since the interests of all are not compromised to the same degree nor in the same manner; as to whether all neutrals will enjoy full liberty to join or not, as they deem advisable; and others that it would take much space to enumerate. Nevertheless, every effort made for the purpose of protecting neutral interests is worthy of applause.

The book shows itself to be hostile to the "League to Enforce Peace". After

aplastado si es potencia de segundo orden; y si, al contrario, es una gran potencia, el pacto no impedirá el conflicto. En este caso, en efecto, el agresor poderoso no dejará de buscar aliados; y el atacado, con los que se sientan amenazados, irá a la guerra llamando a su ayuda a todos los que hayan firmado el pacto; éstos, si son Estados débiles o carecen de interés directo en el conflicto, se excusarán, no tomarán parte en la lucha y el pacto quedará en el papel". Palabras que tienen aquí el mismo valor, o la misma falta de valor, que si se aplican a la solución propuesta por el señor Álvarez.

Para atenuar la rivalidad entre los Estados, el autor recomienda combatir "el individualismo en la vida internacional y todas las instituciones a las que ha dado origen, especialmente el equilibrio político, las alianzas y la paz armada". Aboga por la limitación de los armamentos, la abolición del derecho de declarar la guerra sin consulta previa de la voluntad nacional por medio de un referéndum popular, la supresión de los tratados secretos y una influencia mayor y más directa de parte de la opinión pública, obtenida dando a la discusión de los asuntos internacionales la misma publicidad que se da a la de los intereses nacionales.

Después el autor favorece la formación de confederaciones, federaciones u otras uniones análogas, de modo que ya no haya estados aislados, ni Estados débiles, ni hegemonía de Estados fuertes. Presenta como ejemplares a los Estados Unidos, Alemania y Suiza, de lo que puede

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citing the following words which seem to have been seized from the lips of President Wilson, "if one of the members of the league declares war on another member of the same, without previously having submitted the difference to the above mentioned tribunal, or council, all the other countries must unite to take up its defense against the aggressor", the book asserts that "the aggressor may be crushed if it is a power of the second rank; but if on the contrary, it is a great power, the agreement will not prevent the conflict. In this case, in fact, the powerful aggressor shall not be allowed to make alliances; and the country attacked, together with those countries that feel themselves threatened, will go to war, calling to its aid all those countries that have signed the agreement. These, if they are weak states, or lack a direct interest in the conflict, will excuse themselves, will take no part in the struggle, and the agreement will remain on paper". Words that have here the same value or the same lack of value, as if applied to the solution proposed by Sr. Álvarez.

To lessen the rivalry between states, the author recommends combatting "individualism in international life and all the institutions to which it has given rise, especially political balance, alliances, and armed peace". He pleads for the limitation of armaments, the abolition of the right to declare war, without previously consulting the national will by means of a popular refer-

realizar la humanidad cuando los estados están unidos unos con otros, en lugar de vivir aislados. El terreno en este punto no puede ser más resbaladizo. ¿Tendrían los Estados el derecho de secesión?

La Unión Continental o Consejo de Conciliación sería, a juicio del autor, el mejor remedio para nuestros males internacionales. "Hasta hoy," dice, "no se han tomado en cuenta en Derecho Internacional más que dos sanciones: la opinión pública, que se considera insuficiente; y el empleo de la fuerza, que se considera peligroso. El Consejo tendrá a su disposición diferentes especies de medios coercitivos: de carácter moral, político, económico, material, y en último extremo y para casos excepcionales el empleo de la fuerza armada." Palabras análogas a las que el autor usa en contra de la formación de una liga de las naciones pueden emplearse para impugnar su proyecto.

Todo está sujeto a discusión. El Senador Knox, en su discurso pronunciado ante el Senado el 18 de diciembre de 1918, ofrece esta solución: ¿No podemos ver cómo brota de estos hechos una nueva doctrina americana? Formularé esta gran doctrina nueva en estas palabras: Si surgiera una situación en la que cualquiera potencia o combinación de potencias amenazara directa o indirectamente la libertad y la paz de Europa, los Estados Unidos considerarían ese estado

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endum, the suppression of secret treaties, and a greater and more direct influence on the part of public opinion obtained by giving to the discussion of international affairs, the same publicity as is given to national affairs.

Then the author favors the formation of confederacies, federations, or other similar unions, so that there may no longer be any isolated or weak states, nor a hegemony of strong states. He gives the United States, Germany, and Switzerland as examples of what man can do, when states are united one with another instead of being isolated. The terrain in regard to this point can not be more slippery. Would the states have the right of secession?

"The Continental Union" or "Council of Conciliation" would be, in the opinion of the author, the best remedy for our international ills. "Thus far", he says, "not more than two sanctions have been taken account of in international law—public opinion which is considered insufficient; and the employment of force which is considered dangerous. The council will have at its disposition different kinds of coercive means of a moral, political, economic, and material character, and as a last resort, and for exceptional cases, the employment of armed force". Words similar to those used by the author in opposition to a league of nations may be employed to impugn his project.

Everything is subject to discussion. Senator Knox, in his speech before the Senate, on December 18, 1918, offers this solution: "Can we not see emerging from these facts, a new American doctrine? I will state this great new doctrine in these words: If a situation should arise in which any power or combination of

de cosas con grave aprensión, como una amenaza a su propia libertad y paz, y se pondrían de acuerdo con otras potencias interesadas, al efecto de obtener acción concertada para la remoción de dicha amenaza. . . . El poder en las manos de los defensores de la civilización ofrece las promesas mejores de un orden internacional definitivo fundado sobre la justicia y la buena voluntad, el cual ansían ver todos los hombres. . . . Esto puede hacerse, como lo he dicho, por medio de una nueva declaración, en cierto modo correspondiente a la doctrina de Monroe,—una declaración de que toda amenaza a la libertad de Europa es una amenaza a América; y de que América consultará a sus amigos y se apercibirá para la acción, si dicha amenaza llegare a presentarse de nuevo.”

En vista de tantas soluciones propuestas ocurre preguntar si no sería mejor esperar hasta ver qué resulta de las conferencias de paz que han de poner fin a este conflicto. Al fin y al cabo, allí están manejando hechos y confrontándolos con las teorías. El Derecho Internacional avanza más después de cada conflicto. El Presidente Wilson es un idealista en el más alto y el más práctico sentido de la palabra. Su frente podrá estar en las nubes, y sus ojos podrán escudriñar las transparencias del cielo; pero sus pies están en la tierra, y no parecen vacilar.

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powers should directly or indirectly menace the freedom and peace of Europe, the United States would regard such situation with grave concern, as a menace to its own freedom and peace and would consult with other powers affected with a view to concerted action for the removal of such menace. . . . Power in the hands of the defenders of civilization holds the best promise of an ultimate international order founded upon justice and good will, which all good men long to see. . . . This can be done, as I said, by a new declaration of some correspondence to the Monroe Doctrine—a declaration that a menace to the liberty of Europe is a menace to America, and that America will consult her friends and prepare for action if ever such menace shall again arise.”

In view of the many solutions proposed, it occurs to us to ask whether it would not be better to await the result of the peace conferences which are to end this conflict. In the last analysis, facts are there being manipulated and they are being confronted with theories. International law makes a further advance after each conflict. President Wilson is an idealist in the most lofty and practical sense of the word. His forehead may be in the clouds and his eyes may be able to pierce the transparencies of the skies, but his feet are on the ground and appear not to totter. The world hopes much from him. Let us not be less than the world, and let us not attack his principles before seeing their result from their practical application. It is well to advise him. It is loyal and honorable to lay before him not only ideas that favor him, but also those that are contrary to him.

El mundo espera mucho de él. No seamos menos que el mundo, ni ataquemos sus principios antes de ver cómo resultan en su aplicación práctica. Bueno es aconsejarlo. Es leal y honrado manifestarle no sólo las ideas que le favorezcan sino también las que le sean adversas. Cuanto más accesibles y autorizadas sean las opiniones que a él lleguen, mejor. Por eso es de lamentarse que este libro no se haya publicado en inglés, ni contenga más voces que las que en él hablan. En efecto, más que acta de los debates de un cuerpo científico, parece obra personal de dos hombres, Mr. James Brown Scott y don Alejandro Álvarez, quienes hubieran agregado peso al grande e indiscutible de sus opiniones si hubieran dado a conocer algo más acerca de los debates sostenidos en la Habana. Esto, por lo menos, es lo que cualquier lector espera de un libro de esta naturaleza.

GUILLERMO A. SHERWELL.

Wáshington, a 6 de enero de 1919.

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The more accessible and authoritative be the opinions that go to him, so much the better. Consequently, it is to be regretted that this book is not published in English, and that it does not contain more opinions than those that appear in it. In fact, rather than a record of the debates of a scientific body, it appears to be the personal work of two men, Mr. James Brown Scott, and Don Alejandro Álvarez, who would have added weight to the great and undeniable value of their opinion, had they given us somewhat more concerning the debates sustained in Havana. This, at least, is what every reader hopes for from a work of this nature.

GUILLERMO A. SHERWELL.

Washington, January 6, 1919.

Anuario Bibliográfico de Venezuela, 1916. (Año primero de su publicación.) By MANUEL SEGUNDO SÁNCHEZ. (Caracas: Litografía del Comercio, 1917. Pp. 71, (2).

The first appearance of what promises to be an annual publication is a real contribution to the bibliography of Venezuela. Its author, the Director of the Biblioteca Nacional of Venezuela, is one of the recognized scholars of his country. In his preface, Sr. Sánchez says: "By availing ourselves of the works received at the Biblioteca Nacional, as well as of certain others that came to our notice, we have compiled the present list of books, pamphlets, and periodicals published in Venezuela during the year 1916". The list is divided into three sections, namely: Official publications; Publications by private persons; and Periodical

publications. The first section contains 99 titles; the second, 188; and the third, 159. Sr. Sánchez believes, however, that the list is far from complete, as authors do not always observe the law requiring that two copies of each work published in Venezuela be deposited in the National Library. This is especially noticeable in periodical publications.

All three parts of this work are very important, and the book is a most welcome contribution to the bibliography of America. The compiler promises a similar list annually and it is learned that the volume for 1917 is now ready for press. The *Anuario* will be a useful addition to the bookshelves of workers in the history of Hispanic America. The first volume has set an excellent norm, and scholars will look forward with eagerness to subsequent lists. Sr. Sánchez also intends "to publish special bibliographical studies on groups of Venezuelan scientific and literary works, as well as on the editions made by Ministries from the earliest period of the Republic".

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

El Perú y la Gran Guerra. By JUAN BAUTISTA DE LAVALLE. [Páginas de Historia Contemporánea.] (Lima: Imp. Americana, 1919. Pp. xv, 439.)

This volume is a "concise historical review of Peru's attitude from the beginning of the European conflagration to the last great victories of the armies of the Allies and of the United States of America, the acceptance by the Central Empires of all the bases of peace formulated by President Wilson, and the signing of the armistice". Beginning with page 289, the volume consists of documents of the "Breaking of relations with the Imperial German Government".

The caliber of the work may be seen by noting some of the matters discussed. Taken rather at random, these are as follows: "German radiograph installations and raiders in the Pacific"; "the vessels of the Peruvian navy protect commerce against the German cruisers"; "Peru and the German submarine campaign"; "the traditional American solidarity of Peruvian foreign policy"; "Peru does not declare neutrality upon the declaration of war against the German Empire by the United States"; "sinking of the Peruvian vessel *Lorton* by a German submarine"; "reparations and indemnities demanded by Peru"; "Peru refuses to have the matter adjudicated by a German prize court"; "Peru demands the satisfaction asked of the German Imperial Government within the space of one week"; "the Congress approves the

breaking of relations with the German Imperial Government by 105 votes against 6"; "delivery of passports to the German representative in Peru"; "the Peruvian representative in Berlin recognizes the deceit and lack of justice of the Imperial Government"; opinions of the Secretary of State of the United States of North America, Mr. Lansing"; the opinion of the Chancery of Brazil"; "reply of the Uruguayan Minister of Foreign Relations"; "the message of welcome from Great Britain"; cablegram of President Poincaré"; "congratulations from Italy"; "the judgment of Belgium"; "visit of the 'American Society of Peru' to the President of the Republic and to the Chancery"; "the British Embassy in Lima"; "the message of the President of the Republic and the international policy of Peru"; "the principles of Wilson and Peruvian international tradition"; "the protest of the Spanish Legation in the name of the German Imperial Government"; "Foch's offensive: triumphs of the Allies, German retreat and defeat, capture of Sedán"; "the conditions of future peace"; "commerce between Peru and the Allies during the war, and the stabilization of the dollar"; "the League of Nations". The documents consist of correspondence between Peru and other countries of South America, the United States, Mexico, Central American countries, Haiti, Cuba, and the Allies and Germany (partly through Spain), together with other matters discussed in the first part, such as the case of the *Lorton*. Not the least interesting of the documents is the "Contract between the Government of Peru and the Shipping Board Emergency Fleet Corporation.

The work forms an interesting chapter in diplomacy and will be of considerable use to the historical student and teacher. The author proves the instant response of Peru to the tenets of democracy, and its consistent and outspoken attitude in the World War which will forever form an honorable part of Peruvian history. In his opening words the author says:

The attitude of Peru before the conflagration which, with no precedent in the annals of the world, threw into conflict with each other political systems, concepts of culture, ideas, methods and opposing organizations, and which has terminated with the victory of the democracies and the splendid triumph of liberty and justice for which the armies of the Allies and those of the United States fought, corresponds faithfully to the antecedents of Peru's international life, to the fundamental orientations of its foreign policy, to its deep-rooted sentiments of justice, to its inviolable faith in pacific solutions and of law, to its love of independence, to liberty, to democracy, and to its loyalty towards people bound historically to our people by spiritual, political, and economic influences since the origins of our nationality. The triumph of liberty and of democracy;

the fulfilment of international treaties; the recovery of oppressed peoples subjugated by violence; the right of free determination of peoples to decide their destiny; the guaranties of life and property to neutrals: these constitute principles of international conduct and human values so significant for the life and free development of nations that they could not but produce the sincere and enthusiastic adherence of Peru to the cause of the Allies and of the United States of America. Such moral and juridical ideas, such laws, fundamental for peaceful international life, have always merited the devotion of Peru throughout its history and inspired the most unselfish and disinterested attitudes of its foreign policy.

Although the first part of the volume is broken into sections, these are without headings of any sort. Definite chapter headings would have facilitated the use of the book, for it is awkward to have to turn to the "indice" in front to locate topics. The volume is a timely addition to the literature of the Great War, and it is hoped that it is the first instalment only of Peruvian diplomatic relations of the period.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

Spanish-American Life. A Reader for Students of Modern Spanish.

By E. L. C. MORSE, A.B., LL.B., Principal Phil Sheridan School, Chicago. [The Lake Spanish Series, General Editor, Christian Gauss, Litt.D., Professor of Modern Languages, Princeton University.] (Chicago and New York: Scott, Foresman and Company, [1917]. Pp. 370.)

This volume strikes out into new paths. It is refreshing in its lack of the puerile. It is made up wholly of "articles that . . . show typical phases of life in Spanish America from the Rio Grande to the Straits of Magellan", all mainly taken from periodicals published in Spanish America. The two objects of the compiler and editor have been "to furnish a large amount of reading matter, idiomatic, practical, and interesting", and "to show the daily life, habits, customs, and ideas of the Spanish-American people". The volume is a "series of sketches by Spanish-Americans of themselves, for themselves, in their own language, touching on fields of activity almost unlimited in scope and character: a discussion on self-government, a street brawl, the price of stocks, a shipwreck, a wedding, the sugar market, a ball game, a street car strike, a wholesale swindle, an earthquake, reflections on the transportation problems of the day, a cowboy *fiesta*". The first twenty-three items are from periodicals published in various countries in Hispanic America, seventeen are taken from Mexican papers, sixteen

from Cuban and Central American papers, eighteen from papers of the Valley of La Plata, and fourteen from the papers of the west coast. The selections are followed by copious notes, a Spanish-English vocabulary, and an analytical index of non-grammatical notes. There are six maps in the volume which "have been prepared in the fond hope they may help dissipate the prevalent haziness of the North-American mind as regards Spanish-American geography—an obfuscation which, according to U. S. Consular Reports and other unimpeachable authorities, is at once grotesque, discreditable, and costly". Many illustrations, mainly the compiler's own, have been inserted to illustrate the various articles.

At the same time that he has prepared a reader for students in Spanish, Mr. Morse "has tried to make the Anglo-Saxon . . . see and understand how the Spanish-American lives, moves, and has his being in the new world". The admirably-written preface from which citations have been freely made above should be reproduced here in its entirety, as it furnishes the best review that can be made of the volume, and sets forth lucidly the purposes and viewpoints of the compiler, but space forbids. Because of its interest to historians, however, the following passages must be quoted:

Geography plays a large part in the comments, and historical points have been elaborated with a fullness borne of the conviction, fortified by experience in teaching, that Spanish-American history is largely an unknown world to the average American student. The Spaniards discovered America some four centuries ago, and the Yankees are just now discovering the Spaniards of America.

The Caribbean will doubtless play the important part in American history that the Mediterranean has in European history. Spanish-America, now suffering in parts from the growing pains incident to lusty youth, will develop mightily, but on lines consistent with its past history and inborn tendencies, and will be governed by ideas different from those of Anglo-Saxondom. Peaceful and happy relations between nations depend largely on appreciating other nations' feelings and understanding their psychology. Hence in this work, the author has striven to consider the problem not merely from the point of view of a language teacher, but from that of a man of affairs, a lawyer, a historian, a student of contemporary events. Appeal is made to alert Americans who look not merely to the past, but to the present and future of the two Americas.

The Spanish Americans are a people whose fate has been woven in the web of destiny of our own, to whom year by year we are bound by stronger ties, social, economic, and political. It is clearly our duty, and it should be our pleasure, to know them better. To know is to admire.

Some of the papers represented are the following: *El Diario*, México; *El Herald*, México; *El Imparcial*, México; *Revista de Revistas*, México;

El Diario, Vera Cruz; *La Gaceta*, Guadalajara; *La República*, Guatemala; *La Discusión*, Habana; *La Lucha*, Habana; *El Tiempo*, Guayaquil; *El Siglo*, Montevideo; *La Nación*, Buenos Aires; *La Prensa*, Buenos Aires; *El Mercurio*, Santiago de Chile; *El Chileno*, Valparaíso; *El Comercio*, Lima; *El Nuevo Tiempo*, Bogotá; *El Nuevo Diario*, Caracas; and others, including a number of selections from *Las Novedades*, published in New York, and one from *Blanco y Negro* of Madrid.

This volume would form a good collateral reading book for high school and first year college classes in the History of Hispanic America, because it *does* give the atmosphere of Hispanic America, and is, moreover, alive. Aside from its linguistic value, which is high, it is of interest to teachers of history.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON.

Las Casas. By ALICE J. KNIGHT. (New York: Neale Publishing Company, 1918.)

This little book should prove useful. The names of the great "Apostle of the Indies" ought to become as familiar to English readers as that of Cortés and Pizarro, if not of Columbus, and a book for children, obviously written to make it so, will be welcome. The author has profited from the works of Helps and Fiske, but she does not mention the former. Her narrative, creditable but not striking, embraces the more common facts known about Las Casas, and she fills in *lacunae* with a few general descriptions culled from obvious sources. It would have been well to describe more fully a few institutions like *encomienda* and *audiencia*, if she hoped to make the Spanish colonial background more real. Consistency requires that *clerico* as well as *padre* should be italicized, but there is no reason for discarding "cleric". The frontispiece is the traditional picture of Las Casas.

South America. Study Outline Series, 3d Ed. by CORINNE BACON. (White Plains: H. W. Wilson Company, 1917. Pp. 32. Paper, \$0.25.)

This work is a study outline on South America designed for use by women's clubs. Twenty meetings are scheduled, and from two to seven topics presumably for separate discussion or papers are provided for each meeting. An idea of the scope of the outline may be derived from the following summary of these divisions: two are concerned with

travel and description; one with the Incas; eight with the various countries, two of which are devoted to Peru; two with the Panama Canal; and one each with Races and Nations, Commerce and Industry, Pan-Americanism, Government, International Relations, and Family Life and Culture. The emphasis throughout is descriptive rather than institutional or social, and the popular effect is sought particularly in the titles. Readings are included for most of the topics, the references being both to books and periodicals. A bibliography of about one hundred books is supplied at the end, a feature being that for many titles excerpts from reviews are printed. All of the books designated are in English, the majority being of a popular nature. The outline as a whole is a serviceable attempt to popularize the study of South America.

W. W. PIERSON, JR.

A Study of Bagobo Ceremonial, Magic and Myth. By LAURA WATSON BENEDICT. [Reprinted from the "*Annals of the New York Academy of Sciences*", XXV—Editor, Edmund Otis Hovey.] (New York: Published by the Academy, Printed by E. J. Brill, Leyden, Holland, 1916. Pp. 308, Plates. Index. Paper.)

It is a commonplace to say that Spain accomplished a work in the Philippines that stands alone among European colonial enterprises in the Far East. Spain was the only European nation represented in the orient which officially adopted and consistently carried out the policy of converting the natives. Conversion of the latter necessarily carried with it cultural changes in many directions. The ancestors of the present Filipinos were baptized not only into a church but into a new civilization.

From the occidental standpoint the result was, in the main, a happy one. Certainly our own work in the islands has been facilitated by the fact that we have had to deal with people nine-tenths of whom recognized the validity of the same standards of ethical and cultural values as ourselves. But the Spanish attitude was not without its incidental drawbacks. For example, priests and laymen alike regarded the native beliefs with frank contempt, and the former at least, did not hesitate to attribute them to the father of lies. Partly because of this it results that not a single serious study of native Philippine beliefs exists in the Spanish language.

Americans have been quick to appropriate this vacant field. Within the last few years, Mr. H. Otley Beyer has informed us of the mythology

of the Ifugaos; Dr. and Mrs. Fay Cooper Cole have studied the religion of the Tingians and of the tribes around the Gulf of Davao; Dr. Albert E. Jenks has made the Bontoc culture area his field; while Dr. James A. Robertson has made accessible much scattered historical material on the topic of Philippine mythology and ritual.

In the present work under discussion, Miss Benedict offers an intensive study of the beliefs and practices of the Bagobos, a vigorous little people of Mindanao. She has divided her book into four parts. About fifty pages are devoted to an exposition of the "mythological concepts of the Bagobos"; one hundred and twenty-five to "formal ceremonial"; fifty-five to "every-day forms of religious response"; and twenty-nine to the "problem of sources of ceremonial and myth". A few of her subject-headings will give a hint of the interest of the work: "The Bagobo Pantheon"; "The souls of man"; "Right-hand soul"; "Souls of animals and manufactured products"; "Trial marriage"; "Interviews with the gods"; "Omens and dreams"; "Rite of human sacrifice".

Miss Benedict's book tempts a reviewer to quote. The work is luminous throughout with that understanding which derives from knowledge touched with kindness; and yet it could not always have been easy for her to feel that kindness. The following is her account of the practice of human sacrifice (pp. 167-169).

The slave to be sacrificed at an approaching festival is selected some time in advance. It may be two or three months beforehand that the purchase, or barter or transfer of the slave into the family holding the ceremony is agreed upon. During the first and second nights of the festival, the slave-boy is kept in the ceremonial house tied by his wrists to the wall, and fed "like the dogs" with scraps held to his lips. Clearly there is no suggestion of making the ceremonial victim the subject for special privileges during the hours just before his death, or of feasting him before sending him to the sacrifice.

On the last and main day of *Ginum*, shortly after sunrise, the slave is taken to the forest, or to the beach if the village is not too far from the coast. All the people from several miles around gather to attend the ceremony, except the younger children who remain at home, where they later have a little supplementary performance.

At the place picked out for the ceremony, a frame—the *takosan*—is set up. This consists of three posts, vertically placed, with a cross-piece connecting them at top. The three upright elements form the *patindog*, and the horizontal cross-piece is the *balabag*. The *balabag* is decorated from end to end with fresh young shoots from the areca palm. Directly in front of the middle *patindog*, a hole is dug in the ground, to which the slave's body will finally be consigned; the pit is called *kutkut*.

Near to the sacrificial frame, there is set up a small shrine (*lambara*) consisting of the usual white china bowl wedged into the split end of a rod of bamboo

set upright into the ground, and secured to a tree or other support. In the bowl of the *tambara* the usual offerings of areca-nuts and buyo-leaf are laid. Before this shrine, the old men gather for the office called *garug-dun*, which is recited by one or two of them acting in the capacity of priests. The burden of the rite is a prayer to Mandarangan dwelling on Mount Apo, asking him to accept the sacrifice, and to keep the Bagobo from diseases and from all calamity. At the close of the *garug-dun*, or just before it, the slave is brought forward for the *saksakan*, or the rite of killing and cutting the body to pieces.

The slave is fastened to the middle post of the *takosan*, his hands uplifted, his wrists and ankles bound to the *patindog* by strong cords of vegetable fibre (*ylana*). Often he is tied so tightly that he cries out more in physical pain than in fear: "The fetters hurt me! Take them off! I can't bear the bands! Untie them for this time!" Immediately many of the men begin the dance with war-shields—the *palagisè*—a performance of remarkable maneuvers, demanding considerable practice, as well as athletic skill. . . . As they dance they draw near to the *takosan*, and with spears and *kampilan* begin to make stabs at the victim. Others of those present, men or women, rush forward and each tries to inflict a wound on the slave, each one stimulated by the hope of a benefit to be gained for himself if he assist at the sacrifice. In a few minutes the slave is dead from a multitude of gashes. The instant he is dead, they cut the body, with the exception of hands and feet, into small pieces, each about two and one-half inches in size, and drop them into the hole prepared to receive them. The ritual name of *pinopül* is given to a piece of a slave's body thus ceremoniously cut off. The hands, sectioned just below the wrists, and the feet, just below the ankles, are left entire, these parts being reserved to carry home to the little boys in the family that offers the sacrifice. The lads cut these members into small pieces and bury them in another hole in the ground. . . .

As one would expect, one learns from Miss Benedict's work that Bagobo beliefs are at many points identical or similar to those found among other peoples of the Archipelago. One may safely go much further. One may say that there is much in Bagobo belief and practice which in color is local but in substance universal. For example, is there any religious idea more widely diffused among men than that of sacrifice? Does not even the practice of human sacrifice bring to mind the stories of Abraham and Isaac, and of Jephthah and his daughter, and even suggest a horrible caricature of the Christian doctrine of the Atonement?

In a word, Miss Benedict has done an unusually interesting piece of work. Every serious student of Philippine cultures must read her book for information, and every person with a liberal curiosity in solutions of the riddle of the universe may well do so for pleasure.

The volume has a bibliographical list covering not only the immediate region treated in the book, but titles treating of similar cultures. There is a good index, and the plates are informing and well executed.

EMERSON B. CHRISTIE.

NOTES AND COMMENT

PROFESSOR H. MORSE STEPHENS

In the death of Professor H. Morse Stephens, of the University of California, the teaching corps of the United States has lost one of its greatest members, and perhaps its most picturesque representative. To the circle of historical teachers and students, not only of the University of California, but of the entire country, his death while not altogether unexpected since his severe illness several years ago, came as a distinct shock; and historical ranks are today much poorer because of his decease. No man in the historical teaching force of the United States has probably been more widely known than was Professor Stephens; and certainly no man engaged in the teaching of history in this country enjoyed a more unique position. His presence in Berkeley drew many a visitor here from foreign countries to California, who would probably not otherwise have gone to the Pacific coast. His circle of friends and acquaintances was tremendous, and he was personally interested in each one, whatever his station in life. He was never happier than when engaged in what he called "picking the brains" of some one. Intensely interested in life from all angles, he was one of the last of the great humanists of America, and indeed had much in him that made him of close kin to the old Italian humanists of the Renaissance.

Broad in his scholarship rather than deep, he had little in common with historians trained in the laborious German fashion. History to him was a living thing and this attitude of mind he was able to transmit to his students to a degree almost unprecedented in this country. By personal inclination as well as by training, he was admirably fitted for a lecturer to undergraduates on the broader outlines of history. His Oxford training, supplemented by the molding processes of his journalistic and editorial work in England, his extensive reading of history and books of all sorts dealing with life, and the manner in which he looked upon his fellowman, led him constantly along a path in which he considered more and more the goal of history rather than its slow and devious working out, the general rather than the particular. The lecture courses that he conducted in England were

the prelude only of those he conducted later at Cornell and the University of California. So highly was he esteemed as an historical lecturer that three distinct times he was called upon to conduct courses in the Lowell Institute.

Yet the earlier period of his mature life witnessed considerable activity in the production of written works. His *History of the French Revolution* written while still comparatively a young man, and perhaps his best written historical work, obtained instant recognition, and notwithstanding various inexact statements, is one of the histories of that period current today. His *Story of Portugal* and his *Albuquerque*, produced in the same general period as the former book, are witnesses of the interest of an active mind; and the grip taken on him by the history of the Pacific Area was manifest as late as 1915 when, together with Professor Bolton he edited the volume *The Pacific Ocean in History* made up of papers presented at a series of meetings largely organized by him during the Panama-Pacific Exposition. His *Syllabus of a Course of Lectures on Modern European History* has probably been consulted by teacher and student alike as often as any similar work.

Professor Stephens's fame, in last analysis, however, must rest upon his wonderful ability as a lecturer and teacher, although his success as an executive was not slight, as his department at the University of California testifies. Hundreds of men and women living today have an interest in history solely because they had the good fortune to come into contact with him and were made to see some little of the marvelous panorama of the ages. Cornell and California and, through them, many institutions owe to him a debt that can not lightly be paid. His loss is one that will be long felt, for men of his type are rare albeit they are desperately needed as an antidote to too much pedantic learning.—J. A. R.

THE NAME "HISPANIC AMERICA"

Professor E. C. Hills, formerly librarian of the Hispanic Society of America, and now head of the Romance Department of Indiana University, in a letter written January 24, to the "New York Times Review of Books", makes the following statement:

With regard to the article in The Book Review of Jan. 12, I beg to express my dissent from the statement that "it is obviously incorrect to designate a continent that includes Brazil as Hispanic America". There has been much

discussion of late among Hispanists as to the proper designation of the southern continent. "Spanish-American" is obviously inaccurate, as is "Portuguese-American". Some have suggested "Ibero-American" and many have favored "Latin American", but today the consensus of opinion is in favor of "Hispanic-American".

"Latin-American" is no more applicable to South America than it is to French Canada or the French islands in the Caribbean Sea. "Hispanic-American" is preferred largely because the Romans called the entire peninsula Hispania. The adjective Hispanic and the noun Hispanist have of late come into general use to designate what is either Spanish or Portuguese or both. Note, for instance, the Hispanic Society of America (in New York) and the two new publications *Hispania* and *HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*. All three have to do with things Portuguese and Portuguese-American as well as with things Spanish and Spanish-American.

The name "Hispanic America" is gaining ground and by current usage is becoming more familiar. It has been substituted for "Latin America" in the catalogues of the Universities of California and Michigan, and it is hoped that a similar change will soon take place in other institutions. It was characteristic of the late Professor H. Morse Stephens that as soon as he became convinced of the logic of the name, he adopted it in place of "Latin America".

COURSES IN THE HISTORY OF HISPANIC AMERICA GIVEN IN UNIVERSITIES AND COLLEGES OF THE UNITED STATES

This is the second instalment of courses in the history of Hispanic America taught in educational institutions of the United States. The first instalment was given in the third issue of the *REVIEW*, namely that for August, 1918. Other instalments will follow from time to time.

University of California

The following courses are offered by Dr. Charles E. Chapman:

161A-161B. History of Spain and Portugal. The European background of Hispanic America with special emphasis on institutions. (A) To 1516. (B) To date. 3 hours throughout the year. A reading knowledge of Spanish, Portuguese, or French is desirable. Given in alternate years.

162A-162B. History of Hispanic America from 1808. The wars of independence and the development of Hispanic-American states, with emphasis on their relations to the United States. 3 hours throughout

the year. A reading knowledge of Spanish, Portuguese, or French is desirable. Given in alternate years.

189A-189B. History of California. The relation of the history of California especially to that of New Spain, and also to the Far East and the United States. 2 hours throughout the year.

261A-261B. History of Spain and Portugal. 2 hours throughout the year. Given every third year.

262A-262B. History of Hispanic America. For 1918-19 the subject will be: The relations of the United States and Hispanic America. 2 hours throughout the year. Given every third year.

289A-289B. California History. 2 hours throughout the year. Given every third year.

The following courses are offered by Dr. Herbert I. Priestley:

165A-165B. Hispanic-American History to 1810. The discovery and occupation; colonial policies; the development of political, economic, and social institutions, and a comparison of these with the institutional phases of other European expansions. 3 hours throughout the year. A reading knowledge of Spanish or French is desirable.

166A-166B. History of Mexico. The colonial background; the establishment of independence and the development of governmental forms; social and economic problems; relations with the United States; recent revolutionary movements. 2 hours throughout the year. A reading knowledge of a modern language is desirable.

265A-265B. Hispanic-American Institutions. In 1918-19 the subject will be: The transition from colonial to republican forms in the institutions of Mexico to 1857. 2 hours throughout the year.

The following courses are offered by Dr. Herbert E. Bolton, head of the Graduate Division of the Department of History.

181A-181B. The History of the West. The settlement and development of the West, and its influence upon national and international affairs at each stage of advance. The influence is upon the Trans-Mississippi West. Due attention is given to the Spanish and Mexican background of the American advance into the West, and to the relations of the United States and Mexico. 3 hours throughout the year.

182A-182B. Spain in North America. A general survey of the establishment of Spanish rule and Spanish institutions in North America, followed by a more detailed study of Spanish activities in and relative to territory now within the United States. 2 hours throughout the year. Prerequisite: course 161A-161B, 181A-181B, or 183A-183B. A reading knowledge of Spanish is desirable. Given in alternate years.

183A-183B. European Expansion in North America. Spanish, French, Dutch, Swedish, Russian, and English exploration, settlement, policies, and institutions in North America in their bearings upon the contest for the possession of the continent and upon the development of American civilization. 3 hours throughout the year. A reading knowledge of French and Spanish is desirable. Given in alternate years.

281A-281B. The Southwest under Spain. A study of the development of the northern provinces of New Spain. 2 hours throughout the year, to be arranged.

282A-282B. The Trans-Mississippi West since 1821. 2 hours throughout the year.

University of Cincinnati

History 20. The History of "Latin America". In this course three main topics are developed: I. The Iberian Background. II. The Iberian Regime in America. III. "Latin-American" Nationality. These topics are divided as follows: I. The formative period in Iberian history; The Moslem Invasion and the Christian reconquest; The development of Iberian institutions; Economic and social life in the Iberian Peninsula. II. The expansion of Spain and Portugal; The Iberian colonies in the New World; The wars for independence. III. The fundamental bases; The course of national development; Problems of the present day.

The present course is given by Dr. Isaac J. Cox.

College of the City of New York

Professor Livingston Rowe Schuyler offers the following course:

*39. Development of the South American States. Beginning with a careful survey of conditions both political and economic in Spain during the period from Ferdinand and Isabella to the death of Philip II, the general course of exploration and colony building in South America will be taken up, stress being laid upon the essential differences between the Spanish and English conception of the colony and its relations to the mother country. The most important events in the history of the colonies up to the close of the Revolutions of 1810-1826 will be briefly noted, after which a careful study of the development of the more important States will be made, bringing the subject down to

the present time. In all the work regard will be had to the needs of those who expect to enter into business or professional relations with the South American States. Fall term, three hours a week; counts 3.

De Pauw University

The two following courses are given by Professor William W. Sweet:

309. "Latin America".—A study of Spanish and Portuguese colonies in America, from 1492 to the opening of the wars for independence. Spanish discovery and conquests, the Spanish colonial and trade systems will be discussed, and an attempt will be made to get an understanding of the "Latin-American" character. Lectures and required readings. Open to Juniors and Seniors who have had six hours of History. The first semester, two hours per week.

310. Rise of the "Latin-American" Republics.—A continuation of Course 309. The struggle of the "Latin" colonies for independence, establishment of the new republics in South and Central America, modern conditions and problems will be studied. Lectures and readings. Open to Juniors and Seniors who have had six hours of History. The second semester, two hours per week.

Grinnell College

Dr. Paul E. Peck offers the following course:

19-20. History of South and Central America. Owing to several causes, both within and outside of "Latin-America", the South American republics are coming to have a greatly increased influence upon world affairs. This course offers an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the general trend and history of each of these republics; it further emphasizes a study of the economic as well as the social and political conditions of each at the present time. The available literature and other material upon this field, consisting of government reports, monographs, scientific studies and general descriptive works has very greatly increased during recent years, and our Library, unlike most college libraries in this respect, is well equipped with it. Porter, "The Ten Republics," and Enock, "The Republics of South and Central America," are used as guides during a part of the course; but the work consists chiefly of lectures by the instructor and of student work in the form of class reports, the making of charts, diagrams and maps, and other investigations. Open to Juniors and Seniors who have chosen History, Political Science, or Economics as a major subject. Two hours per week. Each course counts for two credits.

Harvard University

Mr. Arragon offers the following course:

56 ¹/_{hf}. History of "Latin America". This course is designed to give students a general acquaintance with the history and present conditions of the principal countries of South America. The course will be divided equally between the period of exploration and colonization and the rise of the various republics. Special emphasis will be laid upon political and diplomatic problems. No thesis will be required but a considerable amount of reading will be assigned. Half-course (first half-year), 3 hours per week.

Dr. Julius Klein, at present on leave of absence, offers the following courses, all of which are omitted in 1918-19:

57 ²/_{hf}. Recent Commercial History of "Latin America". This course comprises a general study of the present economic conditions of "Latin America". Attention will be paid to recent political history. A detailed survey will be made of the development of trade relations during the past decade and of economic resources and possibilities. Half-course (second half-year), 3 hours per week.

59 ¹/_{hf}. History of Mexico, Central America and the West Indies. This course will undertake to review the history of northern "Latin America", with particular reference to the relations with the United States. The period of exploration and colonization will be briefly surveyed; the political and diplomatic episodes since 1810 will be taken up more in detail. Among the topics discussed will be the following: the English and the French in the West Indies; Cuban and Mexican colonial administration; eighteenth-century Texas and California; the régimes of Juarez, Maximilian, and Diaz; Isthmian canal diplomacy; the United States and the Caribbean. Half-course (first half-year), 3 hours per week.

60 ²/_{hf}. History of Argentina and Chile. The field of this course is southern Spanish America, including occasional Uruguayan and Paraguayan topics. Among the subjects discussed will be colonial government, Indian affairs, revolutionary campaigns, the dictatorships of Francia, Lopez, and Rosas, boundary disputes and recent diplomatic relations. Either History 56 or 59 is a prerequisite. Half-course (second half-year), 3 hours per week.

*61 ²/_{hf}. "Latin-American Trade Problems". This course is also announced by the Graduate School of Business Administration. History 57 is a prerequisite. Primarily for graduates. Half-course (second half-year).

In Historical Research, Dr. Klein offers the following:

20*h*. Topics in the history and present conditions of "Latin America".

In connection with these courses, the following courses offered by Assistant Professor Tozzer, are of interest:

*9 ¹/_h*f*. Archaeology and Hieroglyphic Systems of Central America. Half-course (first half-year), 3 hours per week. Omitted in 1918-19.

*10 ²/_h*f*. Archaeology and Ethnography of Mexico. Courses 9 and 10 are open to those students who have taken Courses 1 and 5 or have had equivalent preparation. Ability to read Spanish and German is desirable. Half-course (second half-year), 3 hours per week. Omitted in 1918-19.

Leland Stanford Jr. University

Dr. Percy Alvin Martin offers the following courses:

36. History of Spanish America.—An outline course dealing chiefly with the Spanish Colonial System and the Spanish-American Wars of Independence. Open to all except freshmen students. 5 units, autumn quarter. Not given in 1918-19.

37. History of South America since 1823.—A continuation of History 36. An outline course dealing with the history and institutions of the leading nations of South America; includes the discussion of such topics as the Monroe Doctrine, Pan-Americanism, and the relations between the United States and "Latin America". 5 units, winter quarter.

38. History of "Latin America".—A general outline course dealing with the colonial expansion of Spain and Portugal in America and with the political, social, and industrial development of the leading republics of "Latin America". The first six weeks will deal with the Spanish Colonial System and the Spanish-American Wars of Independence; the last six weeks will include a summary account of historical evolution of the leading republics of "Latin America" from 1823 to the present time. Considerable emphasis will be placed upon the diplomatic relations between the United States and "Latin America". Either section of the course may be taken separately. 4 units, summer quarter.

131. Seminar in "Latin American" History.—Subject for 1917-18: Diplomatic Relations between the United States and "Latin America". 3 units, winter quarter.

Yale College

During the year 1918-19, Dr. Charles H. Haring offered the following course:

B 30. History of "Latin America". 3 hours per week, to be arranged.

The war, as in most other colleges and Universities of the United States, curtailed the work in many directions, including the study of Hispanic America. In 1916-17, courses were offered as follows:

By Dr. Hiram Bingham:

B 30. History of South America. A survey of the racial, political, and industrial history of South America, with special reference to present conditions and international relations. Three hours per week for first half-year, to count as one and a half hours for the year.

For the year 1917-18, courses were offered as follows:

By Dr. Bingham:

B. 30. See above under preceding year. A note on this course is as follows: "This course may be taken in connection with Geological Sciences B 6, *Geography of South America*, given at the same hours in the 2d half-year. Students electing *History of South America* may elect *Geography of South America* without having had the prerequisite courses in Geography. The rule relating to the election of half-year courses in different departments does not apply in this case.

By Dr. Haring:

B 14. The Age of Discovery and Colonization. The development of navigation and commercial enterprise in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and the creation of colonial empires by the maritime states of western Europe. 3 hours, second term, to count as 1½ hours for the year. Open to students who have had course A1, or who gain the consent of the instructor.

AN EXCHANGE OF TEACHERS BETWEEN CHILE AND THE UNITED STATES

The Government of Chile and the University of California have recently come to an agreement in regard to an interchange of professors and teachers between educational institutions in Chile and the United States. President Sanfuentes of Chile sent a Commission of Chilean educators under the leadership of Señor Aguirre to visit this country and to arrange for a permanent interchange of university professor and teachers of technical, normal, and secondary schools, between Chile and the United

States. The chairman of the Commission declared that it had been determined to visit California first because of that state's romantic association with the Spanish past as well as because of Chilean admiration for the University of California. A committee of eight under the chairmanship of Dr. Charles E. Chapman, assistant professor of Hispanic American History in the University of California—the other members being Drs. Bolton and Priestley, of the Historical Department, and Drs. Philbrick (Law), Richardson (Latin and University Extension), Cross (Economics), Bransby (Spanish), and Mackie (Agriculture)—appointed by President Wheeler, conferred with the Commission, and finding that the latter preferred to conduct all negotiations through the University of California, the agreement was made on that basis. The agreement stipulates that not only professors of the University of California, but professors and teachers of any institution in the United States may have this opportunity, but all arrangements are to be made through the University of California. Any American university or school sending an instructor to Chile must agree to pay his or her full salary together with an additional sum for traveling expenses. In return an instructor will be sent to such institution from Chile under the same conditions. This action is gratifying in many ways and one which students of Hispanic America have long been desiring. The plan has wisely not been limited to a single state, and it is hoped that many institutions in all parts of the United States will take advantage of the opportunity open to them. Especially should technical, normal, and secondary schools give this deep consideration. The advantages of the plan are manifest and manifold. Direct contact will be established between the best minds of both countries and this will work for a firm and enduring friendship based on common ideals—those of truth and justice. There is nothing that can better smooth out any distrust that the people of these countries may entertain for each other. One of the results of the agreement will be to give to the United States a teaching corps with firsthand knowledge of Chile, and reciprocally Chile will benefit in the same manner as regards the United States. To those who cherish a Pan American ideal, this interchange of teachers is most encouraging. The scope should, however, be widened. There is no reason why the University of California should not become the clearing house for exchanges of teachers between the United States and every country of Hispanic America. When an universal exchange is established between the United States and all of Hispanic America, the western world will have obtained one enduring factor more for ever-

lasting peace. Dr. Chapman will probably be the first exchange professor under the agreement, and expects to go to Chile for the year 1920.

Dr. Chapman's report made on February 13, 1919, after conference with the Chilean Commission, was in part as follows:

The committee believes that the proposals are admirable in idea, and that the University may wisely enter into coöperation with the Chilean Government for the purpose of carrying out suitable details thereof.

The Committee recommends that the University arrange to send Professor Chapman to Chile for the year 1920-21, and to receive and utilize here the exchange professor available. The school year in Chile begins in March; hence it would be desirable that instructors going from California should leave at the end of the fall semester.

It should be pointed out that the Chilean Commission desires that instructors be sent to Chile not alone from Universities, but from technical, normal, and secondary schools as well. Indeed, their chief interest is with secondary education, and they suggest that they would prefer an arrangement whereby, in making the exchanges, they would receive instructors in the ratio of one university professor to three teachers from technical and secondary schools. Of the three, one should be a normal school teacher, one a teacher of technical subjects such as agriculture, mechanical arts, or engineering, and at least one should be a woman in the ranks of secondary education.

The Chilean Commission expressed a desire that all teachers obtained from California be arranged for through the University. It is to be noted that their plan originally contemplated making arrangements of the same kind with other universities, but after discussion it seemed desirable to the Commission that this University be constituted a central clearing house for sending instructors to them from other states as well as from California.

The well known archaeologist, Theodoor de Booy, whose article in the last number of this REVIEW will have been read with interest died on the 18th of February, 1919, before his article was off the press. Through the kindness of his wife and of his former colleagues at the Museum of the American Indian—Heye Foundation, the following biographical sketch (written for the *American Anthropologist*), is allowed to be published here:

In the death of Theodoor de Booy, American archæology has lost one of its most enthusiastic workers and field explorers. Mr. de Booy died from the effects of influenza at his home in Yonkers, N. Y., February 18, 1919. He was the son of Vice-Admiral C. J. G. and Mary (Hobson) de Booy, and was born in Hellevoetsluis, Netherlands, December 5, 1882. He received his education at the Royal Naval Institute of Holland. In 1906 he came to the United States, becoming an American citizen in 1916, and in 1909 he married Miss Elizabeth Hamilton

Smith, of Louisville, Kentucky. In company with his wife, Mr. de Booy went to the Bahama Islands in 1911, and during his residence there became interested in the antiquities of the Caicos group of the Bahamas, devoting much time to the exploration of the numerous caves and mounds. On his return to the United States, Mr. de Booy published, in 1912, the first results of his archaeological researches in a paper entitled "Lucayan Remains on the Caicos Islands". He then determined to devote his life to the subject, and the opportunity soon presented itself when he became attached to the Heye Museum, now the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation, of New York City. Mr. de Booy joined the staff as field explorer for West Indian work, and sailed for the Bahamas in June, 1912, remaining there for six months. He was notably successful on this trip, among the most important objects recovered being a remarkable paddle which he discovered in a cave on Mores Island. Mr. de Booy's next expedition was to Jamaica, where he spent the months of January, February, and March of 1913, on this trip conducting excavations in some of the kitchen-middens found on various parts of the island. During July to October of the same year he devoted his attention to Santo Domingo, there undertaking the first systematic exploration ever made in this important and little-known field, a work which was continued in the spring of 1914. On his return to the United States, Mr. de Booy prepared a report on the results of the two expeditions, which were devoted chiefly to the exploration of certain caves in Santo Domingo and to work on the small island of Saona. In October and November of the same year he made an archaeological reconnaissance of eastern Cuba, and was the first to discover the great riches of this hitherto neglected field. The year of 1915, was a busy one with Mr. de Booy. The months of February to April were spent by him in exploration and excavations on the Island of Margarita, Venezuela, and from May to September he was occupied in excavating in the southeastern part of Trinidad. In 1916 Mr. de Booy made a third trip to Santo Domingo, and in the same year he visited Porto Rico and Martinique. On all of these islands he conducted excavations.

Owing to the acquisition of the Danish West Indies by the United States, Mr. de Booy was sent by the Museum to the islands comprising this group, where he remained from October, 1916, until February, 1917. This was the first archaeological work ever done there, and he was notably successful in obtaining material and information respecting the antiquities of this region. With this expedition his field work for the museum came to an end. Early in 1918 he severed his connection with it, and commenced preparations for an exploration of the unknown region of the Perija Mountains in eastern Venezuela, and an investigation of the ethnology of the Motilone Indians, the savage remnant of a tribe which had always kept its country free from white settlers and exploration. This journey was made under the auspices of the American Geographical Society and the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, of which latter institution he became a field worker for a short period. After his return from this trip, Mr. de Booy joined the forces of the State Department Inquiry, as one of its South American experts, and was still engaged in this work at the time of his death.

One of the most active and prolific investigators in archaeological and geographical research, Mr. de Booy had reached the point where the future held promise of still greater and more valuable results. His genial and pleasing

manners made for him many friends at home and abroad, and his early passing is a distinct loss to this branch of scientific endeavor. With commendable industry he prepared reports immediately after each expedition, and at the time of his death was engaged on a comprehensive book describing the region of his latest activities. His collections and writings find a place in the front rank of West Indian exploration, and our knowledge of the ancient history of the Antilles has been greatly enhanced as the result of his entering this field. A list of his most important publications follows.

- 1912 Lucayan Remains on the Caicos Islands. *Amer. Anthropol.* (N.S.), Vol. XIV, No. 1, January-March, 1912, pp. 81-105, 18 figs., pl. VI.
- 1913 Lucayan Artifacts from the Bahamas. *Amer. Anthropol.* (N.S.), Vol. XV, No. 1, January-March, 1913, pp. 1-7, 5 figs. Reprinted as *Contributions from the Heye Museum*, No. 1.
Certain Kitchen-Middens in Jamaica. *Amer. Anthropol.* (N.S.), Vol. XV, No. 3, July-September, 1913, pp. 425-434, figs. 111-114, pls. 31-33. Reprinted as *Contributions from the Heye Museum*, No. 3.
- 1915 Pottery from Certain Caves in Eastern Santo Domingo, West Indies. *Amer. Anthropol.* (N.S.), Vol. XVII, No. 1, January-March, 1915, pp. 69-97, figs. 12-28, pls. IV-IX. Reprinted as *Contributions from the Heye Museum*, No. 9.
Certain West Indian Superstitions Pertaining to Celts. *Journal of American Folk-Lore*, Vol. XXVIII, No. CVII, January-March, 1915, pp. 78-82. Reprinted as *Contributions from the Heye Museum*, Vol. II, No. 3.
The Cradle of the New World. *Bulletin of the Pan American Union*, March, 1915, pp. 311-319, 5 illustrations.
- 1916 Certain Similarities in Amulets from the Northern Antilles. *Holmes Anniversary Volume*, Washington, 1916, pp. 24-30, 3 plates.
Notes on the Archæology of Margarita Island, Venezuela, *Contributions from the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation*, Vol. II, No. 5, pp. 1-28, figs. 1-15, pls. I-VIII.
Island of Margarita. *Bulletin of the Pan American Union*, Vol. 42, 1916, pp. 531-546.
- 1917 The Birthplace of Josephine, Empress of France, *Bulletin of the Pan American Union*, April, 1917, pp. 493-498, 5 illustrations.
The Virgin Islands of the United States, *Geographical Review*, New York, Vol. IV, No. 5, 1917, pp. 359-373, 9 figs.
Indian Petroglyphs in the Antilles. *Forward*, Philadelphia, Vol. XXXVI, Nos. 17-18, April 28, May 5, 1917, 6 illustrations.
Archæological Investigations in the Virgin Islands. *Scientific American Supplement*, No. 2180, October 13, 1917, pp. 232-234, 9 illustrations.
Eastern Part of the Dominican Republic. *Bulletin of the Pan American Union*, September, 1917, 7 pp., 5 illustrations.
Archæological Notes on the Danish West Indies, etc. *Scientific American Supplement*, No. 2189, December 15, 1917, pp. 576-577, 8 illustrations.
The Town of Baracoa and the Eastern Part of Cuba. *Bulletin of the Pan American Union*, November, 1917, pp. 627-639, 9 illustrations.

- 1918 Certain Archæological Investigations in Trinidad, British West Indies. *Amer. Anthropol.* (N.S.) Vol. 19, No. 4, October-December, 1917, pp. 471-486, figs. 61-64, pls. III-VIII. Reprinted as *Contributions from the Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation*, Vol. IV, No. 2.
- The Turks and Caicos Islands, British West Indies. *Geographical Review*, Vol. VI, No. 1, July, 1918, pp. 37-51, 6 figs.
- The Virgin Islands Our New Possessions. Joint author with John B. Faris, J. B. Lippincott Co., Philadelphia, 1918. 292 pp., 97 illustrations, 5 maps.
- The people of the Mist. An account of Explorations in Venezuela. *The Museum Journal of the University of Pennsylvania*, Vol. IX, Nos. 3-4, September-December, 1918, pp. 183-224, figs. 45-63.
- An Exploration of the Sierra de Perija, Venezuela. *The Geographical Review*, New York, Vol. VI, No. 5, November, 1918, pp. 385-410, 15 figs.
- The Western Maracaiba Lowland of Venezuela. *Geographical Review*, New York, Vol. VI, No. 6, December, 1918, pp. 481-500, figs. 1-13, pl. XVII, large folded map.
- Noises in Baracoa, Cuba. *Forward*, Philadelphia, Vol. XXXVII, No. 3, Jan. 19, 1918, 3 illustrations.
- Buried Treasure in the West Indies. *Forward*, Philadelphia, Vol. XXXVII, April 13, 1918, 3 illustrations.
- The Fragrant Indians of St. John. *Forward*, Philadelphia, Vol. XXXVII, March 2, 1918, 3 illustrations.
- Martinique, its Inhabitants, Cooks, and Sportsmen. *Forward*, Philadelphia, Vol. XXXVII, February 21, 1918, 3 illustrations.
- A Strange West Indian Industry. *Forward*, October, 19, 1918. 1 illustration.

The following are unpublished.

Santo Domingo Kitchen-midden and Burial Mound.

Virgin Island Archæology.

Notes on the Archæology of Eastern Cuba.

The Unknown Perija Mountains of Venezuela and their Inhabitants. A book to be posthumously published.

Tropical Versus Arctic Exploration.

The Landfall of Columbus.

[The last title evidently refers to the paper published in the last number of this REVIEW.]

Dr. Manuel Segundo Sánchez, Director of the Biblioteca Nacional, at Caracas, Venezuela, was in Washington during the month of February. He is well known to historical students for his *Bibliografía Venezolanista en el Siglo XIX*. (Caracas, 1914), his *Iconografía del Libertador* (a notice of which appears in another part of this issue of the REVIEW), and for other historical and bibliographical works and articles (see the review of his *Anuario* in this issue). It is learned that

Dr. Sánchez was charged by the Government of Venezuela among other things with the publication in Spanish and in English of the celebrated Message of Bolívar to the Congress of Angostura. He is greatly interested in the growing feeling of solidarity among scholars of the Americas, and has lost no occasion to promote that intellectual harmony that ought to prevail among scholars. Among other things his interest has led him to volunteer his advice to librarians and historical workers who wish to get into touch with the historical and economic literature of South America, especially of Venezuela and Colombia, and he has generously offered to see that commissions regarding such matters receive the attention of the proper persons.

Sr. Julian Juderías Loyot, of Madrid, the author of *La Leyenda Negra* which has been widely read on two continents, died at Madrid, July 19, 1918.

Major Willard Dickerman Straight, wellknown throughout the United States for his success in the business and financial world, in diplomatic circles, in connection with the relations of the United States and the Far East, and in journalistic circles in connection with Reuter's Agency in the Far East, died at Paris on November 30, 1918. Although only 38 years old, Major Straight had accomplished much and gave abundant promise of larger achievements. He was one of the first to enlist after the United States entered the world war and was given assignments in accordance with his enthusiasm, acquitting himself well in all things that he did. Major Straight was one of the guarantors of this REVIEW.

Sr. T. Esquivel Obregón, author of the first paper in the present number of the REVIEW, and a wellknown Mexican author, has been made a corresponding member of The Spanish American Royal Academy of Arts and Sciences, and has been entrusted with the organization of a branch of the Academy in New York. This Academy was created by a Royal Spanish decree of 1909, and the King of Spain himself is its honorary president. Its object is the inculcation of closer artistic and scientific relations between Spain and the various countries of the Americas.

Professor Herbert E. Bolton and Charles E. Chapman have recently been elected corresponding members of the Hispanic Society of America. Professor Bolton, who knows the Mexican Archives and Libraries

better than any other historian of the United States, is Curator of the famous Bancroft Library now owned by the University of California, head of the Graduate Division of the Department of History of the University of California, one of the foremost workers of the new school of American history in which Spanish achievements play a large part, and author of various books and articles dealing with the Spanish period of North American history, particularly with reference to the Pacific Coast and the Southwestern part of the United States. Professor Chapman has published various titles on the history of Spain, Hispanic America, and Spanish California. In 1913, he represented the State and University of California at the second Serra centenary at Petra, Majorca, and in 1916, represented the University at the Congress of Bibliography and History at Buenos Aires on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of Argentinian independence. The Hispanic Society of America, founded by a Californian, Archer M. Huntington, himself a scholar of note, owns one of the great libraries of the world.

Dr. Herbert I. Priestley, of the University of California, whose review of recent revolutionary literature of Mexico appears in this issue of the REVIEW, is making syllabus sheets for two lecture courses to be given on phases of the history of Hispanic America the coming year.

Dr. Julius Klein, of Harvard University, at present on leave of absence from that institution, has recently given up his position of Chief of the "Latin American" Division of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce to become the Commercial Attaché of the Bureau in Argentina. Dr. Klein was a member of the Committee on Organization of this REVIEW, as well as a member of its first editorial Board. As may be remembered, Editors of this REVIEW are chosen for a term of five years, but there were necessarily at the beginning four short terms, ranging from one year to four years on the first Board. Dr. Klein drew the short term. His successor on the Board is Dr. W. W. Pierson, Jr., of the University of North Carolina. It is the policy of the REVIEW that no member of the Board succeed himself.

Dr. William E. Dunn, of the University of Texas, has returned to the United States after eighteen months' travel in Mexico and in various countries of South and Central America. Until the beginning of the Fall semester of 1919, he will be with the "Latin American" Division of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce.

Professor Mary Wilhelmine Williams, of the Historical Department of Goucher College, did considerable work for the Honduras Government last year in connection with the settlement of the Honduras-Guatemala boundary dispute which is being mediated by the Department of State of the United States. Professor Williams was the cartographical, geographical, and historical expert for the Honduras Government. Her report has been translated into Spanish, and both the Spanish and English versions are being printed.

Dr. Charles H. Cunningham, of the University of Texas, who has been granted temporary leave of absence from that institution, has been appointed vice-consul of the City of Mexico. Dr. Cunningham in a recent letter states that he will be glad to communicate with those interested in procuring books from Mexico, especially those of earlier dates.

Professor Milledge L. Bonham, Jr., of the history department of Louisiana State University and Professor Walter L. Fleming, of Vanderbilt University will give courses at the summer session of Peabody College. Professor A. C. Holt of Tusculum College will be at the Louisiana State University for the summer.

Professor R. H. Gearheart of Louisiana State University requires his classes in Spanish to read a certain amount on the history and civilization of Hispanic American countries.

Mr. Arthur H. Redfield, formerly with the Bureau of Research of the War Trade Board, where he made studies of various South American studies, has been appointed Trade Commissioner to Copenhagen for the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce.

Sr. M. Romera-Navarro, of the University of Pennsylvania during the summer of 1918 lectured in various Spanish cities on the "strong feeling of sympathy which exists in the United States for the Spanish-speaking countries; the important work carried on by American scholars in the field of Spanish letters; and the complete vindication by American historians of the work of colonization done by Spain in the New World". Among the subjects on which Sr. Romera-Navarro spoke were the following: The American historians and Spain; Spain and America; Spain in the New World as viewed by American historians; The influence of

Spanish civilization in the United States; The Hispanic movement in the United States; Spain and the United States; The Hispanists in the United States; Spanish culture in America; A vindication of the work of Spain in the New World as accomplished by American historians. The lectures were delivered in universities, academies, and other cultural centers, and were attended by all classes, from workmen to officials.

Upon the cession of Louisiana to Spain in 1803, the population of the Canary Islanders at Galveztown, in the present Ascension Parish, near Bayou Manchac, moved to Baton Rouge thinking that West Florida would remain in Spanish possession. The commandant assigned them lands to the east of the garrison, and the settlement became known as "Spanish Town". Indeed, that part of the city of Baton Rouge is still sometimes referred to by that name. The single street of this settlement was originally known as "El Camino Real", but later became "Spanish Town Road", and is now called "Boyd Avenue", in honor of Col. David F. Boyd, former president of Louisiana State University, and brother of the present president, Thomas D. Boyd.—M. L. BONHAM, JR.

The persistence of names in territory that has passed from one nation to another is well illustrated by the "Cow Bayou", in upper Louisiana, which was formerly "Bayou des Vaches", and before that "Bayou de Vaca".—M. L. BONHAM, JR.

The Cortina Academy of New York, under the management of Mr. A. Palacios, lays special stress on the study of Spanish by the Phone-Method records. The Academy was established in 1882.

The State of Sonora, Mexico, has adopted prohibition, and become "bone dry".

The "Committee on Coöperation in 'Latin America' ", whose main offices are located at 25 Madison Avenue, New York City, in its *Annual Report* for 1918, published under date of January 1, 1919, outlines something of its social and religious work in Hispanic America.

The Committee on Coöperation for "Latin America" is an organization of 28 Mission Boards doing work in Hispanic America with each Board appointing its own representatives. Its purpose is the distribution of

territory or "spheres of influence" among the different Boards so that interests will not clash and work be done by each denomination harmoniously with all the others, and in the promotion of certain "union" work. The dominant idea is of course that by greater concentration, more intensive and more lasting work may be done. The new conditions seen in Hispanic America have opened up new fields of work for the Committee, and in its work it has coöperated with the Committee on Public Information of the United States Government, and with the Ibero-American Association, the "Latin-American" Press Bureau, the "Latin-American" Liberty Loan Committee, and other organizations. In addition to the regular religious and spiritual work of the Committee, some very important social work has been undertaken. The first work of the Committee was a Conference on Mexico held in Cincinnati in 1914, at which a sweeping rearrangement of territory and an inclusive program of coöperation were projected by the various Boards. The establishment of a Union Press, Paper and Book Store in the City of Mexico is planned for the near future, as well as the establishment of a college along the lines of the Roberts College. The Committee believes that the Mexican question is to be solved by a campaign of education rather than intervention by a foreign government. Union Depositories for the distribution of literature have already been established in Porto Rico, Cuba, and Chile, and others planned for Brazil, Argentina, and Mexico. Educational conferences were held during the year in Argentina, Chile, Bolivia, Peru, and Columbia. Social and religious work has been undertaken in some magnitude in Santo Domingo, Porto Rico, Cuba, Central America, Paraguay, and Brazil. The greatest fields still unoccupied by the Committee are in northern South America. A Union Theological Seminary has been inaugurated in Brazil, and an Evangelical Seminary planned for Porto Rico, while in Mexico, a new Evangelical Seminary was opened in 1917. The Ward Institute of Buenos Aires is now a union school called the American College and Ward Commercial School. The largest single project for South America is the International Faculty of Theology and Social Sciences for all South America for the training of evangelical leaders, which is to be opened in Montevideo in 1920, Uruguay having been chosen for this project because of the recently-adopted constitution providing for the separation of State and Church. This city is already the home of the Continental Committee of the Young Men's Christian Association and of the Educational Secretary of the Committee on Coöperation. Plans are under way for the publication of original and translated works

into Spanish and Portuguese, for the formation of four "libraries", namely, one each for pastors, Sunday School workers, social workers, and young people. The publishing program includes newspaper articles for religious and secular newspapers in Hispanic America and the translation of articles from the Spanish and Portuguese for papers in the United States. It is also planned to publish a Young People's Magazine along the lines of the *Youth's Companion*, while a Monthly Journal has also been proposed. There are now eight regional Committees in various parts of Hispanic America. A meeting held in New York on May 31, endeavored to unify to some degree the various publishing interests that are working in both continents for a closer intellectual exchange, with representatives present from the two largest newspapers in South America, officials of North American news agencies, several book publishers, editors of Pan American magazines, and the Director of the Pan American Union. The meeting resulted in the forming of relations with publishers in New York, some of whom are about to enter the Spanish and Portuguese fields, both in the matter of publications and of distribution of literature.

The first paragraph of this interesting report of 15 pages is as follows:

Much of the world's attention is shifting rapidly from Europe to "Latin America." Capitalists, manufacturers, steamship directors, food economists, political leaders of nations that need an outlet for surplus goods and populations, all are planning intensive activities in these fallow, undeveloped southern lands of promise. In spite of the centering of attention on the great War, during the past year, there has never been a time when more interest was shown in "Latin America". This has been due, on the one hand, to the feeling that after the war we must find an outlet for our surplus goods and capital, and that, politically, all America must stand together, and, on the other hand, to the demand for our goods that the war has compelled our Southern neighbors to make, and the increased good will felt by them toward us because of our fight, which they also regard as their fight, for democracy and the rights of small nations.

The Committee on Coöperation consists of the following: Robert E. Speer, chairman, Samuel Guy Inman, secretary, William Cabell Brown, Luther B. Wilson, Webster E. Browning, George B. Winton, James H. Post, Edward C. Jenkins, Henry Churchill King, Gilbert N. Brink, Edmund F. Cook, Marshall C. Allaben, Mrs. Anna R. Atwater, Enoch F. Bell, L. C. Barnes, Frank L. Brown, J. G. Brown, Miss Carrie J. Carnahan, S. H. Chester, E. H. Rawlings, Paul De Schweinitz, Charles L. Fry, D. D. Forsyth, R. H. Glover, William I. Haven, Miss Esther Case, Miss Margaret E. Hodge, Ross A. Hadley, S. S. Hough, Mrs. William F. McDowell, M. T. Morrill, John R. Mott, Frank Mason North, H. Paul

Douglas, Frank K. Sanders, George Smith, Miss Harriet Taylor, Elder W. A. Spicer, Charles L. Thompson, James I. Vance, Mrs. Katherine S. Westfall, L. B. Wolf, Mrs. May L. Woodruff.

Professor Paul F. Peck (now Captain Peck), well known among teachers of the history of Hispanic America for his work at Grinnell College, has been in Red Cross Home Service Work for over a year. Eight months were spent as Assistant Field Director at Camp Shelby, Mississippi, and in the offices of the National Headquarters at Washington. In November of 1918, he went to France, where his work as Assistant Chief of Home Service Work for the American Expeditionary Forces in France keeps him in the Paris office much of the time, with an occasional trip of inspection to some camp. He has been called a "Worry Alleviator", as his entire time is given to the removal of causes of worry among the soldiers. Daily he sends many cables inquiring about sick relatives or directing aid to be given to needy dependents of soldiers. Much of the worry is said to be due to delay in payment of allotments and allowances.

As this number of the Review is about to go to press, the circular reproduced below has been received from the Pan American Union.

THE SECOND PAN AMERICAN COMMERCIAL CONFERENCE

Pan American Union, Washington, D. C., June 3-4-5-6, 1919. The Governing Board of the Pan American Union, has authorized the Director General to call an informal Pan American Commercial Conference, to be held at the Pan American Building in Washington, D. C., from June 3 to 6, 1919. He, therefore, submits the following:

1. The Governing Board, recalling the success of the first Pan American Commercial Conference held under the auspices of the Pan American Union in February, 1911, and having in mind the great present interest in Pan American trade, believes that much good should result to all concerned—governments, organizations, firms and individuals—from another informal but comprehensive exchange of views and information between the official and unofficial commercial representatives, trade experts, business men and other interested parties of both North and South America.

2. Among those to be invited to attend and participate will be the following: (a) the diplomatic, consular and special commercial and

financial representatives and experts in the United States of the Latin American governments; (b) representatives of Latin American firms and houses, unofficial Latin American experts, and other Latin Americans interested who are now in the United States; (c) such other representatives of Latin American governments, commercial organizations and firms as may be able to attend; (d) the officials and experts of the different departments and bureaus of the United States Government having to do with Pan American economic, financial and commercial relations; (e) commercial and trade organizations, or representatives thereof, institutions, business firms and houses, and individuals, in the United States, directly interested in Pan American trade.

3. In order to do justice to all countries concerned and to the numerous important phases of Pan American commerce, general and special sectional sessions will be held, beginning with the Inaugural Session at 10 A.M., Tuesday, June 3, and continuing morning, afternoon and evening of the following three days, June 4, 5, and 6. Except for this inaugural session and certain special occasions, all papers and addresses will be limited in the reading or delivery to ten minutes (with opportunity, under limitations, of extension in the printed proceedings) to be followed by a general discussion, questions and answers, open to all. By this method of procedure, it is intended to make the Conference always practical, interesting, and instructive, and give everybody an opportunity to obtain the information desired.

4. It is hoped that the President and Secretary of State of the United States will return to America in time to speak at the Inaugural Session. Other addresses at general sessions will be made by Members of the Cabinet, Latin American Ambassadors, Ministers, and Consuls, leaders of activities in the commercial, financial, and economic development of Pan America, and recognized international trade experts.

5. While there will be no formal or required charges or fees for registration, attendance and participation, each person (excepting government officials) who desires to be placed on the list to receive one cloth-bound copy of the printed proceedings (which obviously should be the most complete and comprehensive up-to-date review and text book on Pan American commerce illustrated with maps, charts and diagrams, yet published) can do so by subscribing three dollars, in advance, to cover cost of preparation, with the privilege limited to such subscribers, of securing additional paper-bound copies at one dol-

lar. Checks should be made payable to "Chief Accountant, Pan American Union."

6. All persons wishing to attend this conference will please notify the undersigned as soon as possible, as per enclosed card, giving accurate information as to name, address, business or occupation, and whether desiring copies of the printed proceedings or not. Any suggestions, moreover, as to subjects to be discussed, available experts, and those to be invited will be welcomed. The Conference is intended to be a period of intensive study of Pan American commerce, and it is hoped that all persons who plan to be present will do so with the thought of constant attendance and participation at the sessions through the week until final adjournment.

JOHN BARRETT,
Director General,
Pan American Union,
Washington, D. C.

May 10, 1919.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION

MEXICAN LITERATURE ON THE RECENT REVOLUTION

Political events in Mexico during the past decade have called forth an unusual literature both as to quantity and character. That part of it written in English has become fairly familiar to the American reading public. The works which have appeared in foreign languages have, unfortunately, not been so readily available. In Mexico itself there has been great activity among the writers, historical and otherwise, who have their own interpretations of events to present to their own public. Much of the writing turned out has been by way of propaganda for one side or other of the combatant forces. Some of it has been of a dispassionate character; particularly so was that which appeared just before the débâcle which drove Don Porfirio Díaz into exile. As this revolutionary literature was written for home consumption, and has appeared in no English translations or reviews, it is pertinent to glance over it hastily, with the hope of ascertaining what is the mind of the Mexican people, or, more properly speaking, of that part of it which unseated the old régime, placed in its stead a government by the long-despised proletariat, and endeavored to remake the world which had been wellnigh taken from it by the policy of the Científicos. Of necessity, most of the books which have come out have been sympathetic with the new order of things, or at least out of sympathy with the old. Hence this paper will in a peculiar sense be as representative of the revolutionary ideal as the literature it represents. The writer of the present article holds no brief for the authors whose works he studies, but musters them as impartially as may be. The opinions expressed are here presented rather in the form of abstracts than in the form of set reviews. The reader will, then, understand that he is reading as much of the actual statements of Mexican writers as it is feasible to give.

When, in 1909, the Porfirian régime was on its last legs, and all the world was speculating what was to be the outcome of the expected disappearance of Díaz from the political arena, Mexico itself was far from unconscious of the proximate dilemma. About that time ap-

peared two books which voiced the national uneasiness, under similar titles and from opposite sides of the political aggroupment. The first of these, in point of importance at least, was that by Andrés Molina Enríquez, *Los Grandes Problemas Nacionales* (Mexico, 1909). In the opinion of the present writer there are not half a dozen greater books on Mexico in existence. When one has named Alexander von Humboldt and Madame Calderón de la Barca, the residue of Mexican literature falls to a level from which Molina's book stands out in distinct relief.

The author, who is, or was at last accounts, engaged in advisory work on the agricultural problems of Mexico, handles his problems (and these are so closely allied in character as to constitute a single one) by first laying the necessary background in Part I, wherein the questions of territorial setting, early historical influences, and contemporary factors are introductory to the main discussion. The character of the problem is prefaced in the fourth of the introductory chapters, entitled "The influence of the *Leyes de Reforma* on property". This influence, Molina says, was not as beneficent as it might have been, because the *Reforma* neglected to establish the status of individual property and made the further mistake of including in the process of disamortization the estates of civil and native communities, which it was impolitic to molest. Hence, the *Leyes* were far from effecting the transformation which they began. They did an imperfect work, putting into circulation all church property, a part of the municipal property, and part of the Indian communal property. But the *Reforma* did create a new class interest among the *mestizos*, to whom the author looks for the social and political salvation of Mexico in the establishment of a true nationality.

In his fifth introductory chapter, Molina gives one of the keenest characterizations of Porfirio Díaz that has ever appeared from any pen: "The secret of the Paz Porfiriana" declares in brief, that Díaz was a political liberal who was able to dominate that group through the policy of "the patriot saving the country"—[a pose not unknown in the United States]. The essence of his administration was a reversion to government of the viceregal form, the construction of a coercive organization, with obligatory, truly military, coöperation from the dependent members of it. The fundamental secret was the concentration of power. Díaz governed with respect for constitutional form, but with complete power over the (ostensible) election of governors, the national legislature, and the judiciary, with, of course, a

subservient cabinet. In addition, he had the power of dominion over the various racial elements by the use of personal friendship, which conceded and demanded sacrifices. All his officers were joined to him on the personal basis where patriotism and duty were not understood. Yet Díaz was clever enough not to ask his entourage to cross the social lines in maintaining this political friendship.

Having thus disposed of his background, Molina proceeds to discuss, in Part II., the "Problems of prime importance", these being those of property, land credits, irrigation, colonization, and politics, each being discussed in a chapter in the order named.

Chapter I. is really a study of the problem of titulation and transfer of property. The question is highly complicated in Mexico, as compared with the United States for instance, by the fact that Mexico is populated by people with all grades of conscious attitude toward property save the highest one, namely that of land credits with fiduciary titles. The most advanced form of territorial right in Mexico is that of *propiedad efectiva*, and the most advanced social elements are in the same stage. The social groups, which have varying types of possessorship, are: the landed creoles, the new creoles (those who are post-*Reforma*), some *mestizos*, the native farmers with titled property, groups in communal possession with individual ownership, those in possession as a group, those with communal but indefinite occupation of land, movable sedentaries, and nomads.

The chief problem studied by the author is that of subdivision of the great estates in individual holdings. The economic inutility of these large holdings is due to a number of facts peculiar to the land problem in Mexico. There, great individual holdings, in spite of the laws, always constitute real amortization. All the great *haciendas* of the central valley lie in the plains, while the rustic population is perched upon the hills where there is no vegetation other than that arising from cultivation. The *haciendas* are of the huge size to which the American imagination has been accommodated by many English works on Mexico. What is worse, they remain half tilled and in the same hands for centuries. The owners prefer ruin rather than subdivision of their estates, which they hold together in the spirit of domination. Within their holdings they exercise the absolute dominion of feudal lords. They enrich themselves by the toil of the unhappy laborer; they gradually take possession of the communal lands of the *comunidades*, and later brazenly claim proprietorship. This has brought about deep-seated hatred and endless litigation between towns and *hacendados*.

The ownership of an *hacienda* is not a business; the investment of capital in great tracts of land is not profitable. The owners seek a fixed income from their estates, endeavoring to make income and expenses actually meet. If the ratio can be maintained the *hacendado* is content; if not, he strives, not to increase production, but to assure it, seeking not volume of returns but regularity. Hence he sows only wellknown seeds, under irrigation, rather than venture new crops. For this reason production from the *haciendas* is less than from the *rancherías*. The truly typical agriculturist of Mexico is the *ranchero*, not the *hacendado*. The latter establishes his fixed income, turns his estate over to an administrator, and travels in Europe or dallies at his club. He might increase production by developing irrigation if he would take from his income to finance the work, or he might improve his product otherwise by similar investment, but he will not; he can, then, make his hacienda *go* only by arranging credits, thus exposing himself to loss if his foresight is bad.

Desire for fixed income has led the *hacendados* in the cereal zone (the populous central plateau) to cultivate the *maquey*, which causes a wider dissemination of the *pulque* habit and reduces the area devoted to raising foodstuffs. Entire *haciendas* are given up to this crop, which costs little to put in, suffers little from pests, and yields a large income. Even so, if there is weakness of production it is compensated for by extension, while expenses and liabilities are reduced. Reduction of area cultivated is, paradoxically, accompanied by extension of area held, as of a forest or an irrigable tract taken by force of persecution from a neighboring *ranch*o rather than by intensification of cultivation or adaptation of crops on the original area. Again, if for lack of any natural resource, an estate is mortgaged, it is rarely freed of the incumbrance.

Reduction of expenses is effected by refusal to introduce standard machinery, by grinding wages, or by evasion of taxes, which has become notorious. The disproportion in taxes paid by large and small holdings is one of the greatest evils of the land problem. Peonage for the purpose of holding labor on the *haciendas* has become an acute social menace. Restriction caused by spread of the *haciendas* often leaves native villages without roads whereby to communicate with each other. Large estates often make no contributions to the upkeep of such public roads as do exist, using their own roads by preference.

Amortization of property, which is most aggravated in the great cereal belt, can be remedied by obliging owners to let lands on long

leases. A prime difficulty is lack of a thrifty middle class to constitute a successful tenantry. Voluntary definite subdivision, were it possible, would meet the same difficulty, and lands subdivided would be absorbed by Americans and creoles.

In handling this problem, four considerations must be borne in mind: reduction of great holdings should be restricted to the cereal zone; it should be accomplished by first equalizing all property under taxation; laws compelling subdivision should be state laws and not federal, as they are of local and special application. It is also to be remembered that violation of private property is relative and not absolute, and may have a more important social than individual significance. "In other words, any restriction of private property which aids the formation of our nationality, at the same time not smothering private property, must be constitutional and legitimate. Last, this reform must move slowly, and under a system of laws whereby the *hacendado* will be compelled to subdivide".

Small holdings in Mexico also constitute a problem. They have been created by absorption from the town councils, the religious corporations, and the native communal towns under the Circular of October 9, 1856. These holdings must be enlarged, and the *mestizos* have already begun to do this by absorbing land from the Indians, but these holdings, transferred without title, are liable at any time to be declared *terrenos baldios* (government lands) and so subject to redistribution by the government.

These small properties are at present considered as having been transferred by adjudication, and are subject to a small *censo* or annual "rent." It should be declared that the transfer concedes full ownership, requiring no future redemptions, and that no more communal *rancherías* shall be divided, for this has kept on in spite of Article 27 of the Constitution (of 1857).

In his discussion of communal properties, the author points out that in Spanish times all native holdings were treated on an equality which gave the Indians opportunity to defend their property rights against the Spaniards. Towns already existing had their rights tacitly acknowledged or covered by *mercedes*. Always the natives were thought of as a totality, never as individuals. This condition persisted until, under the laws of disamortization (which considered property in all Indian towns as of uniform status) many Indians were dispossessed fraudulently. Some of them sold their lands for ridiculously small sums and were left in misery. As a result, whenever there is sub-

division of the lands of a native town there is always an uprising. To remedy this, the author would recognize by law the various grades of communal ownership, granting titles to each tract according to its status, and gradually raising the conception of property to that of individual titled holdings. "All this classification and formation of individual possession would be very difficult; it should be made, not on general principles, but by precise enumeration of the communities to be considered in each state. The process would take long compared to a human life, but a short time as compared to the life of a nation".

The chapter on the forestry problem shades into the general thesis of means to social betterment in the following words: "We need the [creation of a bourgeoisie by depriving the clergy and great landlords of their great estates] and it will be done by the specific means which we indicate *or by a revolution which must come sooner or later*. . . . Pauperism is the leprosy which is killing us, and if we do not wish that Mexico should have an end like that of Poland it is essential that it should cease to be an Ireland" (p. 124).

In his chapter on the problem of the population, Molina touches the quick of the social dilemma which confronts Mexico. He faces the question from three points of view successively, they being, first, that of geographical distribution, second, that of the composition of the social structure, and, third, that of the sociological or collective unity. Following them in the order named, we learn that the wheat zone of the central plateau, where the crop requires abundant rains, is the fundamental zone for population and agricultural production. From it the currents of population send the excess to the various points of the Republic. From Mexico to Vera Cruz go frequent groups of *enganchados* (laborers under contract). Yucatan has a commerce in men from the central zone which is as great as the old commerce in negroes. The inhabitants of the center abound in all the mining regions. The sparsity of population in the several regions is then discussed, and it is shown that there is not likely to be movement from the outside toward the center because of the superior supply there already. Outside of the cereal zone the establishment of any new enterprise will always be contingent upon the labor supply, which is scarce.

There is a constant flux and reflux of the population due to unequal food production. This movement should be left unhampered. It is interfered with where labor is under restriction of real or implied contract, as in the case of the *enganchados* or the *peones acasillados*.

Remedies needed are prohibition in labor contracts of hereditary transmission of debt, prohibition of labor contracts of more than a month's duration, of any advance payment of wages, of corporation stores (*tiendas de raya*) or any other discount on wages whatsoever; second, there should be prohibition of the *enganche*; third, the laws should give laborers equal civic status throughout the entire Republic.

From the viewpoint of its social construction Molina's study of the population is even more interesting. When the Spaniards came, the natives, just beginning to form an integral group, came into disastrous conflict with the higher social type; this created a peculiar social construction which lasted three centuries. Independence, fruit of the attrition of the centuries, was at the expense of the superimposed Spaniards, and left the creole and *mestizo* elements superimposed upon the native population. Then immigration brought a new creole group, to which were added the North Americans, who retain their solidarity and isolation. Hence there is stratification, even caste, mitigated somewhat by republican *forms* of government. The strata occur in the following order: North Americans, then Europeans (both of whom the author admires and hopes to see incorporated into the nation) who are especially protected by Mexican law; then the new creoles, the landed creoles, and the creole clergy; below are the *mestizos*, dividing into the directing or old revolutionary group, the professional people, and employees of the government; in the descending congeries come the army, the upper workingmen, the small individual proprietor group, and the *rancheros*. The author gives an interesting history and description of each of these groups. Below them yet come the natives, divided into lower clergy, soldiers, lower workmen, communal proprietors, and day-laborers. This stratification, which seems incredible at least as a social consciousness, gives five laboring classes which support the economic weight of twelve privileged ones. Still there is lacking a pure middle class, which must be produced by subdivision of the large estates and other measures. The burden of the unproductive classes has encouraged the emigration of laborers, adding further inequality.

Other dire consequences of this aggroupment are the narrowing of national riches in a few hands, the conservation of large properties to the prejudice of unskilled labor, the oppression of the *mestizo* agricultural group. From the total of these sequent conditions comes low purchasing power, which reacts unhappily upon the available market for national manufactures; hence the economic crisis is chronic and progressive.

The economic remedy proposed by the creoles, European immigration, is *puro un absurdo*, being indeed only a manifestation of the influence of consanguinity. Foreigners could not sustain life in competition with the Mexican standard, hence their colonies would be doomed to failure. Only the tropical variety of agriculture is highly profitable, and it everywhere depends, as witness the Yucatan henequin industry, upon native labor. The native and *mestizo* elements, the one capable of the greatest endurance and the other showing the greatest relative strength, excel in respect to their incomparable adaptability to their habitat, especially in their power to sustain life on corn and to live in the open. They will, then, dominate the country, the *mestizos* will absorb the creoles and foreigners, and, in the inevitable conflict with the North Americans, will emerge victorious because of the qualities named above. The latter race, even now obliged to depend upon imported labor, will not be able to conquer the Mexicans economically at least. The native population will in time be increased by the artificial extension of the agricultural zone northward. This can be assisted by breaking up the stratification of society, giving each group greater freedom. Within fifty years the population will have grown to fifty millions. Then, the present "Manifest Destiny" of American absorption will have disappeared.

In his final chapter, on the political problem, the author reaches some interesting conclusions. Three essential circumstances characterize Mexico's interior policy: first, from the ethnic struggle the *mestizos* have emerged triumphant; second, the struggle has compelled the country to adopt the dictatorial government as the only stable one; third, the dictator must have a special training and character. With its *mestizo* basis, the country does not need immigration. It does need to develop an *alma nacional*, having, unfortunately, only the scanty materials of common language and religion to work on, and even these are lacking as between the various tribes of indigenes. In politics the creole, clinging to control by his ethnic group, will always be a menace; but the *mestizos* show the only real group solidarity, being united by origin, language, religion, physical type, and aspiration. The creoles will not submit without a fight, and, in a pinch, may appeal to the United States for intervention as their last hope of domination.

Foreign relations also make the danger of intervention grave. Hence the power of the creoles must be broken without at the same time injuring the foreigners, who all work upon Mexico through the agency

of the United States. In a word, the *mestizos* must supplant the creoles in their close relations with foreign interests. This interesting experiment the author proposes to attempt by effecting a foreign loan for the purpose of developing *mestizo* agricultural activities.

Foreign relations are, of course, affected by proximity to the United States. As to the Monroe Doctrine Mexicans must, as did Díaz, conform, but with insistence upon its operation through international action. With respect to Japan, Mexico must stand with the United States on the problem of Japanese aggression. In general, Mexico's relative weakness as compared with the United States requires a delicate policy of excessive acquiescence, a difficult attitude due to the many private interests involved. Mexicans are obliged to suffer indignities both national and individual from North Americans, which they must learn to eliminate. The question is whether the United States will permit the development of Mexico until it shall arrive at a political, moral, and social strength in which the aggressiveness of America will no longer be suffered. The national spirit of justice of the United States was expressed on March 23, 1871, by Mr. Sumner, who said that a nation should not do anything that it did not want done to itself. Whenever America has intervened it has been with the purpose of doing good, hence that country will not oppose Mexican development, will not, in likelihood, disturb an internal movement, even revolutionary, within Mexico. This may be better assured by uniting the American and the *mestizo* interests; thus United States capitalists would have no cause for complaint and the government no cause for intervention. Can it be that Sr. Molina had in 1909 such prescience of coming events?

The book by Esteban Maqueo Castellanos, *Algunos Problemas Nacionales* (Mexico, 1909) takes up discussion of "The Yankee Peril" and "Problems of the Political Future." The author is now a political exile in the United States; he says that he wrote "with a sense of obligation to Porfirio Díaz for the grandeur which he brought to Mexico" (Prelude).

In the first essay, writing ten years ago, Maqueo Castellanos felt that while the imperialism of the United States is destined to be the Moloch of Hispanic Americans, the real danger lies more among them than with North Americans. This is, of course, by way of saying that if the southern nations conduct themselves according to the standards of right political life they will have opportunity to develop nationality and sovereignty; but if they do not, the result will be

quite otherwise. The author derived a great deal of comfort from discussion of the internal problems which he expected would prevent the United States from advancing along the path of trailing glory toward universal hegemony of the continent. Many of these problems were in the minds of every one in 1909, and now make interesting reminiscent reading. There was to come a war for domination of the Pacific or against Japan, or against Mexico. In these or any of them the United States would not be warmly united; sectional interests would prevent. In war with Mexico, strong support would come from the border states, which would find in extension to the south an opportunity to constitute for themselves a new republic, with elements *sui generis* braver and more energetic than those of the northern republic. The most hopeful sign was the lack of solidarity which characterizes the United States, due to widely diverse types of immigrants. The negro question also presents its menace of caste war. And yet, with this wideness of the mark, Maqueo Castellanos showed more appreciation of our potential problems than do most Americans of Mexico's difficulties.

I must, even at cost of too much space, include his characterization of the Americans in Mexico (before the orders to leave the country were issued by the American government): There are, says the author, annually invested in Mexico by Americans about fifty million dollars; the American population increases annually by about three or four thousand. Some six to eight hundred millions of American money are invested in the country; the American colony may be as high as sixty thousand. This immigration is dangerous, because it represents a rapid absorption which may fuse Mexican nationality with American through disappearance of economic and political autonomy. But the reality is far from the appearance, for thirty per cent of this American money becomes nationalized, as does English and Canadian capital. But there is a kind of American investment which is here as a loan, and is not stable; it might, under a difficult situation, work harm to Mexican interests.

The American population which comes to make itself permanent is one-third composed of sane and judicious elements, well-educated men of enterprise, who have a proper conception of equity and justice, and are adaptable to environment. They know Mexico well, appreciate its institutions, follow its development, and analyze its history as a forerunner of the future. The American colony . . . grows affectionate toward the country, likes to be here, and furnishes a most estimable contingent.

This type of American proceeds ordinarily from the center or north of the United States, and is not a possible enemy but a good friend. It forms an important and intellectual part of the American group. It finds here the same liberties as at home. It considers our laws good enough. It never speaks of war, annexation, or imperialism with reference to Mexico. It forms, in a word, the most interesting part of the American colony for our country.

The second one-third is formed of that group of Americans who come to Mexico looking for work, to struggle for a future, for a better economic situation than they enjoyed in the States. They are modest in means and education, good Yankees, strong enough for rude tasks, or, sometimes, persons who are anxious to dress in style. These people have no proper judgment of the environment into which they come; they know our institutions very little, study us not at all, and have no propensity to become amalgamated with us. They neither hate us nor like us. For them a Mexican is always an intellectual, social, and political inferior. They come especially from the northwest and the southwest of the United States. They may be an enemy to us; they will not be our defenders. Imperialism is a good thing for them, and if intervention comes they will be glad to see the frontier line carried down to the Suchiate. This group, which grows more like ourselves in time, is yet happy to follow the first group of Americans, considering them the distinguished ones and having a sort of snobbish desire to be associated with them.

The other one-third is our irreconcilable enemy. It is composed for the greater part of people driven from the United States by labor competition which they have not been able to meet. They have fled their country in order not to be restrained by law when they do not wish to obey the foreman of the shop nor observe the standards of the employees of the railroads. In their own country they are hostile to order; here, any authority exercised over them they consider an affront and make complaints to the consuls and ambassadors which those officials fortunately know how to estimate. A standing percentage of these immigrants have accounts with justice to settle in their own country. Many are fortune hunters. They will never dominate a situation, however difficult, though they are so undesirable.

The real danger is not from America, but from Mexico. If Mexico has a right to national life because its people know how to preserve internal peace, foment progress, increase riches, and work quietly for their own evolution, they will have nothing to fear from the Americans,

who, though strong to the point of arrogance, swelled with their triumphs, proud, haughty, potent, are, in spite of all, a brother people which knows and weighs justice and has respect for other American peoples. In union with the United States the Mexicans will move toward accomplishment of the prophecy of the immortal Frenchman who said that the future of humanity is in America.

If on the contrary we renew our revolutionary past tomorrow, if we forget in our political vertigo the road along which peoples move to enjoy the respect and consideration of others . . . if we prefer violence to prudence in interior and exterior political life, then it will not be the Yankee peril that shall wipe our country off the catalogue of the life of nations, but it will be ourselves—the Mexicans—unworthy of the right of possessing nationality.

Whether or not the foregoing works were inspired by the famous Creelman interview with General Díaz in 1908 or not it may not be possible to decide. It is true, nevertheless, that that interview is considered by many students of Mexico as the proximate point of departure of the existing social unrest in that country. Certainly the event was followed by a resurgent political activity which boded well for the nation during its earliest days, before the lines had been so sharply and bitterly drawn between the opposing schools of thought. It will be remembered that the essential points of the Creelman interview were in the statement of Díaz that he intended to decline to be a candidate to succeed himself in 1910, that he considered the Mexican people now capable of exercising the franchise, and hence that he felt willing to permit the organization of political parties and the nomination of candidates for the presidency not sponsored by himself. The direct statement was made that election by the government was not to be demanded. Señor Don Querido Moheno, then a member of the Científico group, and afterward in charge of the portfolio of Foreign Relations in the cabinet of General Huerta, was one of those, and there were many, who took the Díaz pronouncement at its face value; his book *¿Hacia dónde vamos?* (Mexico, 1908) was a pioneer among the Mexican political writings of that period which undertook the dissemination of information calculated to educate the people of Mexico in political responsibility. Querido's book is a sort of citizens' manual or guide to electoral intelligence, intended to assist the country past the political crisis of the proximate disappearance of Díaz from the scene. The need was, during the remainder of the dictator's incumbency, known then to be nearing its natural end, to provide and train

truly political parties and an adequate public opinion. Moheno's attitude may be called that of a conservative, even a moderate, at the time of his writing. "We are not ignorant", he writes, "of the resistance which will naturally oppose attempted reforms, and we hold this opposition justifiable wherever the present fundamental institutions have sprung from an historical evolution. But in Mexico, where Federalism, universal suffrage, and restriction of the jury are the product of rigid, abstract reasoning . . . where institutions do not interpret the spirit of the race, but have been imposed thoughtlessly or viciously, and our organs have not become a part of us, it is important that no new institutions should be established arbitrarily, but that those should be adopted which are best suited to our social structure".

In another place, the author says that the successor of Díaz is bound to fail if he adopts the Díaz methods. Francisco Bulnes is credited with the statement of "an historical law" to the effect that when an excellent personal government is followed by another excellent government also personal, the result is abominable. The successor of Díaz must seek for his basis of action and his strength a free and active public opinion. This is yet non-existent, and it is the duty of Mexicans to create it.

Moheno's book is of course largely occupied by the political questions regnant at the time of his writing, such as the proposed revival of the vice-presidency for the purpose of grooming a successor to Díaz [a dilemma which any dictatorial government encounters at the end of the natural term of the usurper, and which Mexico has not yet successfully met, wherein the state is subjected to the imminent risk, almost the certainty, of anarchy upon each occasion when it becomes necessary to transmit political power].

Concerning the suffrage, the author says plainly that it does not work; it was and is a farce which deceives no one. To the children of Mexico, now grown, election day used to mean a day upon which they might not go out of doors, for sad experience had taught the women that election day was a day of imprisonment, shooting, beating, and all kinds of brutality; particularly did the authorities commit affronts which left the town in a spirit of rancor. Even at the date of the writing of this book election was still under the complete control of the authorities, who tabulated the returns before the event. Hence elections are characterized by an unanimity impossible in the United States, where election signifies the free expression of choice by a majority.

Discussing the Constitution of 1857, Moheno says that Hispanic Americans, lacking real political traditions, are by that token the more inclined to try novelties; so, whenever a reform is projected the most recent advance is adopted for the purpose of arriving once and for all at the highest grade of perfection, intervening steps of the evolution of political ideas being entirely omitted. No doubt the author would be emphatic in saying that some such ideal has guided the adoption by his political opponents of the present Constitution.

Passing to an interesting discussion of plans for education in citizenship, the author enters an instructive study of electoral law and practice in Mexico, showing how the constitution and the law have been mutilated. True salvation for the existing situation will come by creating government by public opinion upon the basis of proper national institutions. That is to say, Mexico is a backward nation and her institutions must not be based upon foreign forms merely because these have been successful elsewhere. True democracy is to be achieved through education. Díaz won his success by destroying liberty of the press, of the courts, the sovereignty of the states, the independence of the branches of the government, and all constitutional checks—"all the apparatus of golden illusion which furnished the dream of democracy".

The right of suffrage must be limited before election can be essentially valuable. The illiterate must be disfranchised. To do this will be to create a state within a state, leaving acquisition of franchise to the process of education, so that no group shall be permanently eliminated. Asking, finally, whether Mexico has the proper materials for an attempt at democracy, Moheno concludes in the affirmative.

One would like to spread upon the records something of a complete notice of that delicious intransigent Juan Pedro Didapp, a Mexican of Oriental extraction, of the stuff of which our oriental fatalists and cosmopolites are made. Throughout his early career he busied himself with dealing resounding whacks upon all phases of the Díaz régime. One of the earliest of his works was *Explotadores Políticos de Mexico: Bulnes y el Partido Científico ante el Derecho Ageno* (Mexico, 1904). This is a philippic against the Científicos, more particularly Francisco Bulnes, whom he calls the medium through which they exploit their ideas; this is the viewpoint from which the problems are attacked, including those of a long and vigorous chapter on the Mexican railways.

Space forbids mention of all save one other of this writer's works. His last one was *Los Estados Unidos y nuestros Conflictos Internos*

(Mexico, 1913). Here again the author continues his uncompromising attitude toward the Científicos. On his main theme, he notes that three times has the attention of the United States been fixed upon Mexico, at Independence, at the French Intervention, and during the recent revolution. During each epoch the same element, called Clerical under Spain, Conservative under the Empire, and Científico under Díaz, has sown hatred for the blonde people of the north. Their enemies, who do not, nevertheless, join the liberals, are atheistic and anti-American. The United States has a serious interest in the Mexican serio-comedy, for foreigners hold that country responsible for it. The United States is the custodian of the rights of man upon this hemisphere, hence the Monroe Doctrine is logical. The United States understands its position perfectly; we Mexicans, a weak nation and race, are in a period of political tutelage. We have no international honor; we think that he who owes and does not pay does well.

The Americans would prefer that the Hispanic countries remain free, for thus they become most useful; but the United States will not remain quiet if European influence becomes prominent in Mexico.

The United States was frankly glad to get rid of Díaz; the revolt against him, avers the author, was planned in the American Department of State! The United States has always had secret agents in Mexico since Díaz began. . . . Not without dignity, our international problems for thirty-five years were handled first in the United States embassy at Mexico. The diplomatic representatives of Mexico abroad were less valuable than those at home. The war which broke out in 1910 was begun and sustained by American capitalists, with the full consent of Secretary Knox and President Taft. The American press and people all sympathized with Madero, and Mexican diplomacy was unable to forestall any of this.

Didapp played no favorites, and was as severe upon Madero and Zapata as upon Díaz; it is not unlikely that his attitude was due to his adhesion to the ultra-Socialistic faction. He was not liked any better by the *huertistas* than by the earlier governing groups. In 1913 he was held in jail at El Paso for violation of the neutrality laws, in company with Pascual Orozco and J. Córdova. It has been said that after his release he made his way into Mexico, where, like Enrique Gutiérrez de Lara, he was killed.

The American public was, a few years ago, made familiar with social and agricultural labor conditions by a book written by John Kenneth Turner, *Barbarous Mexico*, which was hotly discussed in both

republics. It portrayed an almost unbelievable situation among the submerged laborers. It is not the purpose of this article to go into the literature in English on Mexico; rather will it be pertinent to show what has been said by Mexicans on the questions of labor conditions. In 1906 an Agricultural Congress was held in the Diocese of Tulancingo, and some of its proceedings were printed in the *Boletín de la Secretaría de Fomento, Numero especial de Propaganda*, July, 1906. In particular, a discourse was delivered by Señor Trinidad Sánchez Santos which merits some attention as showing why a Mexican peón would as lief join an incipient rebellion as stay at "home" and work. The speaker said:

The national problem of Mexico is due to two extreme situations. On the border is the alluring civilization . . . the supreme strength, of the United States. In the center three fourths of our population, the agricultural population, is in moral, economic, and physiological misery . . . In the center is . . . a silent barbarity lying over an imprisoned spirit which asks nothing of light; a surrendered right which asks nothing of happiness, a weakened constitution which asks nothing but a drink of alcohol; a pile of rags which asks nothing of wealth . . . a home without rights, an unhappy wife, a nominal sense of country, slavery—at the price of one or two hundred pesos; a race which smiles negatively at civilization, at legitimate pleasure, at the high destiny of man, with the same smile with which a death's head seems to smile at life . . . The only solution . . . is to increase and ennoble production . . . by civilizing the laborer and enriching the land. Make him a true Christian and citizen; educate him, elevate him, remunerate him.

Some revelations have been made as to the family life of the day laborer of whom we are speaking. Actually, such a family does not exist . . . hence the great mass of the people does not constitute a society, but . . . a horde. This rural proletariat, fleeing from legal marriage, gives itself up to debauchery characterized by desertion. . . . The man deserts the woman soon, and moves to another estate to seduce another. . . . The mother, abandoned . . . has no other recourse but iniquitous exploitation of her starving little ones, to ruin with brutalizing work those living wrecks . . . which bear all the miseries of alcoholism. . . . If she accepts another lover . . . he treats the children of the former with terrible cruelty. . . . Is this family life? Is this . . . the "strength of the country?"

. . . The regional school proposed [for rural education] will remain empty as long as the father earns twenty-five *centavos*, as long as these same twenty-five *centavos* are controlled by the *tienda de raya*, as long as the *tienda* is controlled by the owner, the merchant, and by the public treasury; as long as the father is not able to support his children and obliges them . . . to support themselves . . . I do not see how the child can go to school before or during or after fourteen hours of work in the sun, or without eating. . . . If the family does not exist among the *jornaleros* the first thing that we must do is to create it in order that from it may develop the home and out of the home the school.

The Congress considered measures to combat alcoholism, to provide recreation, instruction, written labor contracts, and other benefits for the rural population. Debauchery and infant mortality (the latter said to reach 75 per cent) were partially met by proposals to facilitate marriage, vaccination, and other sanitary and social measures. With our present information one can only surmise what may have been the results of this and other congresses during the intervening thirteen years.

In 1912-13-14, Antenor Salas issued in Mexico a series of pamphlets under the title *El Problema Agrario en la Republica Mexicana*. The essential demands made in this series of pamphlets are for the passage of laws providing for equal taxation of small and large holdings; for subdivision of great estates to provide lands for small colonists; for actual military enlistments of young men to serve as soldier-colonists under rigid discipline. He argues that the State must put itself on the side of the proletariat pictured above by Sánchez Santos. He justifies the expropriation of large estates upon the ground of the larger social right as against the individual—the right of eminent social domain, if we may coin a pseudo-legal term. In furtherance of this aim the governing classes must make laws by which they will remove themselves from power to exploit the humble classes. He proposes legislation along the lines of the American and English homestead laws for the purpose.

Zeferino Domínguez, in *The Trouble in Mexico and its only Solution* (San Antonio, 1914), attacks these problems by describing what he has done in a practical way for rural Mexicans. He has had interesting and valuable experiences with the proletariat in the State of Texas where he has done much to better the condition of the rural poor.

Three works of more than ordinary interest are by an author said to have been imprisoned during the Díaz régime, liberated by Madero, and now, or at latest account, employed as a fiscal expert by the Constitutional government. This is Antonio Manero, author of *El Antiguo Régimen y la Revolución* (Mexico, 1911), *Cartas Políticas* (Mexico, 1913), and *¿Qué es la Revolución?* (Mexico, 1915). Of these, the first is the most important, whatever one's sympathies may be with the various opinions offered. In it the author presents three chapters which are, curiously enough, with the same identical titles as those of Pablo Macedo's well-known *Tres Monografías*, namely: "Evolución mercantil", "Comunicaciones y obras públicas", and "La hacienda pública". In them Manero ignores the colonial epoch, treated

understandingly by Macedo. The remaining fourteen chapters are largely historical, with a dispassionate interpretation. It may be summed up in the assertion (p. 410) that "the only true democratic party in Mexico was the Científico party of 1892. . . . The path which the Madero revolution marked out is not the path of democracy but the path of demagoguery, which always leads to the yoke, either of conquest or of dictatorship".

In the *Cartas políticas*, Manero discourses on a variety of topics; in the main, in his attitude on property and poverty he follows Molina Enríquez closely. The sixth and last *Carta* is a criticism of Francisco I. Madero's *La Sucesión Presidencial en 1910* (Mexico, 1910), which raised the battle-cry upon which Madero whirled Mexico into the vortex of revolution that nearly ruined it forever. Here Manero argues against Madero's thesis that the ills of Mexico are due to militarism, for the Díaz régime was autocratic, but civil rather than military. The situation of the country is due rather to bad legislation and to the disparity between the political and the social constitutions.

In *¿Qué es la Revolución?* Manero again deals with property as did Molina Enríquez. Other subjects discussed are justice, banking conditions, legislation, and public education, their condition being adjudged causes of the revolution.

Rafael Martínez, Carlos M. Samper, and José P. Lomelín were joint authors of *La Revolución y sus Hombres* (Mexico, 1912). It is an appreciation of the Madero movement, rather philosophical but not sufficiently discriminating to be of much value. A number of revolutionary *planes* and *pronunciamientos* add value to the appendices.

Fortunato Hernández, author of *Las Razas Indígenas de Sonora y la Guerra del Yaqui* (Mexico, 1902), *Un Pueblo, un Siglo, y un Hombre*, (Mexico, 1909), and *Mas allá del Desastre* (Mexico, 1913) was a *felicista*. In *Mas allá del Desastre* he opens the fray with a high-strung appeal to Mexicans to beware lest, while they fight each other, intervention swoop down upon them. Madero he characterizes as "an unhappy degenerate with maniacal extravagances". His propaganda was not however, so much to blame for the revolution as [and here the author touches the quick of the sore as few Mexican writers do] were the selfish educated Mexicans who have been indifferent to the illiterate class, neglecting ten millions who cannot read, till they have become the tools of the demagogues. The danger of an uprising is real, and if we would conjure it we must give land, bread, justice, and education to ten millions. Our patriotism must make teachers of us unless we want to see the Yankees come, to teach English to our Indians.

Hernández's third essay in this book, "El pulpo blanco"—the white octopus, has an introduction by Manuel Ugarte of Argentina the well-known anti North Americanist and author of *El Porvenir de la América Latina*. Hernández admires the book by F. Carrera Justís, *Orientaciones Necesarias—Cuba y Panama, (Habana, 1911)*, which ascribes to the United States the origin of three revolutions and three protectorates, those of Panama, Cuba, and—Mexico next. The revolution beginning in 1910 was, says Hernández, developed and fomented in the United States, provided with American munitions and money, and assisted by an illusory American neutrality and stupid Mexican diplomats. This author is one of the few who speak well of the government of Victoriano Huerta, calling that unhappy man a courageous, sagacious, and patriotic soldier, all of which is doubtless true without adding much to his luster as executive of the nation.

Ramón Guzmán, who wrote *El Internacionalismo de Mr. Wilson en Mexico* (New Orleans, 1915), did so in the generous spirit of one who is not a Mexican but desires to set our president right in his idealistic attitude toward the Carranza government. The author shows to his own satisfaction that everything done by President Wilson for Mexico was wrong. This is also the burden of the paper by Manuel Calero y Sierra, former Científico now residing in New York, which is a categorical condemnation of *The Mexican Policy of President Woodrow Wilson as it appears to a Mexican* (New York, 1916).

From the opposite political angle, comes José Rodríguez del Castillo with his *Historia de la Revolución de México. Primera Etapa, la Caída del General Díaz* (Mexico, 1915). The author shows how Díaz, failing to lend an ear to prophecy, let Limantour become his *alter ego* in government, how the centenary of Mexican independence was a demonstration on the part of aristocratic Mexico, while no one gave a thought to the aspirations, hardly to the existence, of the common people; how the dictatorship began and grew; how the Científico party acquired a strangle-hold on business and on the president, and other phases of the pre-revolutionary period. In Book II., Rodríguez shows, in "The rottenness of the dictatorship", the political machine at work as only a Mexican conversant with political life could, or being a member of the "opposition", would.

First he pays his compliments to the Congress of the Union, saying that every session save that of 1877 was servile. To be elected to the body required only the vote of Díaz. Members who proved restless were eliminated or met civil death. The senate was always full of

"lame ducks"—septuagenarians who called themselves "boys" and carefully registered the will of the Executive.

The Chamber of Deputies had a peculiar organization. First came the members of the "royal family", a dozen of whom the author names. Then the sons of old war companions of the chief, also named. Then the sons-in-law, who had married daughters of government officials. Then came the *niños finos* who through family influence followed in the wake of Doña Carmelita (the Señora de Díaz). Of course such a body could be only reactionary and subservient; parliamentary opposition after 1884 was unknown. The author details a number of the farcical activities of the Congress.

Concerning the Supreme Court, a yarn was once brought to Díaz that Iñigo Noriega had said that it only did the president's bidding. The old warrior answered bitterly: "The evil is not in the fact that he says this, but in that it is the truth" (p. 99). The court was always the subject of attack. Justo Sierra made in 1892 his famous statement, "The people are hungering and thirsting for justice" (p. 100). The process of *amparo* lost power as a personal guarantee. The personnel of the court steadily declined. No jurisprudence was built up because there were no consistent decisions, no uniformity, no interest or responsibility felt by the members, whose decisions were made in advance for them.

The cabinet officers, with notable exceptions such as Romero Rubio, Baranda, and Limantour, were subservient and incompetent. Mexico was as a consequence always subordinated to the White House. Worse still was the preferential treatment of the Yankees in everything. Concessions were showered upon them with largesse.

After indicating a dozen or more of the state governors who showed the worst characteristics of the Díaz policies, with more evident weaknesses, Rodríguez passes to the lesser luminaries, the notorious *jefes políticos* who have, since the Carranza party came into power, been eliminated in name. In chapter 5, "The lowest tyrants," he says:

A *jefe político* in the time of Porfirio had the political and administrative direction of the district, the care and direction of the *ayuntamientos*, the command of the forces of safety and police, the immediate care of all public municipal utilities, the prisons, public charities, collection of taxes, the execution of all the material works in the district, power over electoral frauds in all stages, the control of the judicial authorities . . . the pursuit of all bandits, taking the census, gathering statistics, meteorological observations, the preservation of bridges, roads, and highways of the district, the whole local machinery in fact, and the organization and control of festivals to receive the governor whenever he came. . . .

The governors named their *jefes políticos*, made them personally responsible for all that passed in their districts, conceding them extraordinary faculties, the transaction of business being facilitated by the telephone. The *jefe politico* was the dispenser of favors to the *hacendados*, who were under the obligation to praise him to the governor. This was reciprocity. The *jefe* had the use of horses from one place, carriages from another, corn, milk, pulque, wood, etc., from other ranches, with chickens, eggs, and rabbits from everywhere. . . . Through the *jefe* went the voluntary contributions of the *hacendados* to the central government, being considerably diminished in transit.

In his turn the *jefe* reciprocated. If the pet son of the *hacienda* had violated a poor Indian girl, if the administrator shot a *mediero*, or if *peones* were lacking, all was taken care of by the *jefe politico*. The pet son might do whatever he pleased, the *peón* was to blame for the blow that struck him down, or the *mediero* who was shot was a fraud. *Peones* who did not want to work must be off to some *hacienda* for two *reales* a day or else into the army. . . . Whole towns were sometimes taken in the levy and poor families left orphaned and in misery because of disobedience to the *jefe*.

Carlos Trejo Lerdo de Tejada, in *La Revolución y el Nacionalismo* (Havana, 1916) seeks to draw from the revolution lessons which will help develop the national spirit. The author is nephew of Miguel Lerdo de Tejada, and grandson of Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada, and held office under both the Díaz and the Madero régimes. He finds, as do several other writers mentioned in this article, a cause of social disturbance in the lack of harmony between the form of society and the written constitution. Few of these writers point out clearly just what they would do to remedy this discrepancy, aside from education. Party government, says Trejo, has not been successful; each party calls its opponents traitors, showing lack of tolerance and respect for the rights of others. Popular election has been affected by formidable clerical influence, which usually decides elections by exerting itself over the Indians, whose submissive psychology is the product of centuries of despotism.

Independence has not changed the real social and political structure of New Spain. Since independence there have been seventy-two governments, nearly all of them *de facto*, and fifty-five of them purely military. Only twelve had legal origin. During ninety-four years Mexico had one hundred revolutions, only three of which have been national in scope and beneficent in character, the Hidalgo-Iturbide, the Tejada-Juárez, and the Madero-Carranza revolutions. *Felicismo*, *reyismo*, and *huertismo* were only movements for personal ambition sustained by legions of mercenaries and imbeciles.

The *Paz Porfiriana* was a parenthesis in revolutionary life which allowed a small advance, but material and not spiritual in character. It changed Mexico's liberal character, won during the *Reforma*, to that of a conservative oligarchy. Mexican politics rotates about two serious errors, first, the belief that personal leaders are the cause of national inequilibrium and that the elimination of persons will bring triumph; second, the inability to see that the *Reforma* had more than a politico-religious aspect. [It would have prevented the great estates which Díaz permitted.] The agrarian question, crux of the *Reforma* and of the present revolution, can be settled regardless of forms of government.

Trejo's program for rehabilitation includes thirteen points, which he hopes to see worked out by the revolution. The first six are directed toward improvement of economic life on the land, on the railroads, and in industry; they concern the labor aspects of the situation. The courts must be purified in order that these changes may come. State socialism will bring about expropriation of land either in proprietorship or usufruct. The proletariat must have its rights to property cared for. Banks must assist small capital, and participation in the wealth of the country must be given to the largest number. Education must reach the lowest citizens, and reach them quickly in order to develop the national spirit which will arrest the active forces of dissolution.

The author finds the arduous domestic problem complicated by the sinister influence of the United States, whose foreign policy he finds based on four postulates, they being: The demand for political and commercial hegemony, the Monroe Doctrine, a tendency to strengthen and solidify the interests of American countries, and, lastly, the "Wilson Doctrine," this latter being the principle that the United States will not, on moral grounds, recognize governments *de facto* or of revolutionary origin. However, he sees that revolution has been the only means for political renovation in Hispanic America, so he doubts whether this policy can be maintained.

Manuel Gamio, the distinguished archaeologist, whom Mr. Means mentioned in his "Andean Society"¹ as "the founder of race appreciation in Mexico," wrote *Forjando Patria* (which might be translated *Forging a fatherland*) published in Mexico, 1916. The work has for its main thesis the uplift of the masses as the basis of national wellbeing.

¹ See HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, I, no. 4, November 1918.

The unity of the book is marred by the introduction of numerous inappropriate chapters; Señor Gamio is not, as Mr. Means thinks, the "founder" of this attitude of uplift of the lower strata of society in Mexico. The main thesis of this book has been noticed appreciatively by Frederick Starr in *The American Journal of Sociology* for September, 1918.

Andrés González Blanco, said to be a Spaniard, is author of *Un Déspota y un Libertador* (Madrid, 1916). The volume is part of the projected "*Biblioteca Constitucionalista*," which is to consist of some twenty volumes. The *déspota* was of course Don Porfirio, and the *libertador*, Carranza. It has been said that this and other books have been subsidized; it should be remembered that in Mexico there is no regular book business as understood in the United States, and it is furthermore to be assumed that a "*Biblioteca Constitucionalista*" will contain opinions favorable to the party of that name. If these opinions are paid for the work is not necessarily stultified by the fact, but will, of course, not have the weight of independent opinion.

In his *México y Estados Unidos* (Mexico, 1917), Miguel Rebolledo says with reference to the Monroe Doctrine that, in exchange for a protection dictated by the supreme interest of the United States, Hispanic Americans have had to endure an extremely humiliating tutelage. Intervention has had the character of a more or less dissembled protectorate. In the hands of Wilson, the Doctrine can be Mexico's shield; under the Roosevelts and Polks it is a constant threat. Looking about for some other nation to which to turn for an alliance whereby to neutralize the influence of the Octopus, the writer examines each of the great powers in turn, but only to decide that none of them would interest itself; Mexico must "stand alone in her weakness and her right to a free life, face to face with the great power of the North American people" (p. 77).

The author believes that after the European War, when the proletariat has to immigrate to America for relief from its suffering, there will be a union of the poorer classes across international lines. Then the North American proletariat will be Mexico's friend. The American Federation of Labor . . . last year invited Hispanic American workers to make note of American and European capitalists who were acquiring concessions disposed of by Hispanic Americans without attention to popular rights. The Federation asserted that if the capitalists of America were uniting to protect their interests the wage earners must do the same. Mexico, says the author, must accept the

invitation of the Federation as well as any other opportunities of approach to the Americans through pacific associations and literary or intellectual connections.

Rebolledo notes in his appendix that the United States will not tolerate any stabs in the back while engaged in the European War; in this crisis he advises alliance with the Allies and the United States without declaration of war on Germany. "Let us not permit our temporal assistance, imposed by the necessity of the moment, to undergo vassalage, and let us make these people see that our aid is to be conditional, having for its object the conservation of our sovereignty and our absolute, inviolable independence" (p. 162).

One might continue the survey of this literature almost indefinitely, so great is its quantity; the effort would not, however, yield great variety in type beyond those already shown.² In the works noticed cer-

² Among the works of interest concerning revolutionary conditions in Mexico which cannot be included in this survey, may be mentioned the following items not included in this article nor in the list given in the November, 1918, number of this REVIEW.

Aragón, Alfredo: *El desarme del ejército federal por la revolución de 1913*. Paris, Soc. an. des imprimeries Wellhoff et Roche, 1915. Pp. 93.

Brinsmade, Robert Bruce: *El latifundismo mexicano, su origen y su remedio*. Obra que contiene proyectos prácticos para libertar a México o a cualquiera otra nación del azote del monopolio privado. Traducida del inglés por Ignacio Flores Iñiguez. Mexico, Imp. Sría de Fomento, 1916. Pp. 250.

Bustamante, Luis F.: *De el Ebano a Torreón* (colección de reportazgos de guerra). Monterrey, N. L., Tip. El Constitucional, 1915. Pp. 129.

———. *Perfiles y bocetos revolucionarios*. Mexico, Tip. "El Constitucional," 1917. Pp. 183.

Carranza, Venustiano: *Manifest destiny*; excerpts of speeches delivered by General Venustiano Carranza. N. p., 1916. Pp. 6.

[Chocano, José Santos]: *El conflicto del día* (a propósito de la mediación A. B. C. sud-americano). [El Paso, Texas, Franklin Printing Co., 1914.] Pp. 8.

———. *Por la raza y por la humanidad*; Santos Chocano habla sobre México. . . . *Las palabras de un muerto*. El Dr. Belisario Domínguez ante la Cámara de Senadores. Puebla, Tip. "Vida Nueva," 1914. Pp. 43.

Colina, F. de la: *Madero y el Gral Díaz*. Mexico, Guerra y Vázquez, 1913. Pp. 159.

Doblado, Manuel: *Mexico para los Mexicanos*. El presidente Huerta y su gobierno. Mexico, A. Enríquez, 1913. Pp. 172.

Fernández Güell, Rogelio: *Episodios de la revolución mexicana*. San José, C. R., Impr. Trejos Hermanos, 1914. Pp. 259.

González, Antonio P.: *La revolución y sus héroes; crónica de los sucesos ocurridos en México desde octubre de 1910 a mayo de 1911*. Mexico, Ortega y Compañía, 1911. Pp. 255.

tain characteristics may be called common. Foremost stands the idea that the United States is regrettably near, obtrusively benevolent, suspiciously capable of the utter absorption of Mexico, but on the whole likely to prove rather decent if the Mexicans can establish order and behave themselves together in political life. They admit that the responsibility is their own. As to internal affairs there is practical unanimity in tracing the difficulty to the condition of the proletariat. The remedies suggested are based upon an attitude which would subordi-

- González Blanco, Andrés: De Porfirio Díaz a Carranza. Conferencias dadas en el Ateneo de Madrid en los meses de marzo y abril de 1916. Madrid, Impr. Heléncia, 1916. Pp. 283.
- González Blanco, Edmundo: Carranza y la revolución de México. Valencia, Promoteo, Soc. Ed., 1914. Pp. 231.
- Gutiérrez de Lara, Lázaro: El pueblo mexicano y sus luchas por la la libertad. Los Angeles, n. d. Pp. 399.
- López, Alfonso E.: La revolución de Carranza y Maytorena. El interinato del Gral. Huerta. Mexico, Impr. 1ª Humboldt, núm. 5, 1913. Primera parte.
- Márquez Sterling, Manuel: Los últimos días del presidente Madero (Mi gestión diplomática en México). Habana, Impr. "El Siglo XX," 1917. Pp. 686.
- Martínez, Rafael: La revolución y sus hombres (apuntes para la historia contemporánea). Mexico, Talleres tip. de "El Tiempo", 1912. Pp. 123.
- Martínez Rojas, Jesús: El asesinato oficial del senador Dr. Belisario Domínguez. La disolución de las cámaras federales y el Gral. Victoriano Huerta. Mexico, Impr. de A. Carranza e Hijos, 1914. Pp. 177.
- Melgarejo, Antonio D.: Los crímenes del Zapatismo. (Apuntes de un guerrillero). Mexico, F. P. Rojas y Comp., 1913. Pp. 168.
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- Moheno, Manrique: Partidos políticos. Estudio sobre su viabilidad y naturaleza de sus funciones en la República Mexicana. Mexico, Tip. I. Lara, 1910? Pp. 157.
- Palavicini, Félix F.: Los diputados, lo que se ve y lo que no se ve de la Cámara. Mexico, Tip. "El Faro", 1913. Pp. 590.
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- Ponce de León, Gregorio: El interinato presidencial de 1911, obra escrita . . . sobre la tarea que realizó el señor licenciado Don Francisco León de la Barra como presidente interino de la República. Mexico, Impr. de la Sría de Fomento, 1912. Pp. 290.
- Prida, Ramón: From despotism to anarchy.—Facts and commentaries about the Mexican revolutions at the beginning of the twentieth century. El Paso, Printing Co., 1914. Pp. 263. (Abridged from the Spanish edition.)

nate legally the rights of property to those of persons, to those of the social group rather than to those of the individual owner. The revolutionary literature does, in fact, foreshadow the Constitution of 1917 with remarkable accuracy. As literature, what it lacks in art it makes up for in directness of expression, in clearness of appreciation of the problems involved, in frankness of self-accusation, and in definiteness of program. It voices the cry of an anguished nation which seeks to rise from its unhappy plight to a condition of material prosperity based on the welfare of the masses whose political voice has now been heard for the first time in four hundred years.

HERBERT INGRAM PRIESTLEY.

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NOTES

PERIODICALS IN ARGENTINA OUTSIDE OF BUENOS AIRES

In the last issue of the REVIEW, there was reprinted a list of periodicals in Buenos Aires from the following publication of the Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce of the Department of Commerce: Robert S. Barrett, *Paper, paper products, and printing machinery in Argentina, Uruguay, and Paraguay* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1918), this being "Special Agents Series", no. 163. Herewith is appended a list of the periodicals published in other parts of Argentina taken from the same source.

Newspapers in Rosario

La Capital, Sarmiento 767; morning daily; established 1867; 12 to 20 pages, 17½ by 26 inches; 17½ and 34½ inch rolls; circulation, 37,000. Equipment: One Marinoni (French) 20-page and one 16-page perfecting press; nine Mergenthalers. Foreign subscription price, \$25.50 per annum; advertising rates, \$0.50 per inch on advertising pages and \$1.12 per inch on pages with reading matter.

El Mensajero, Maipú 863; afternoon daily; established 1882; 8 pages, 14½ by 20½ inches; circulation, 3,500. Equipment, Alauzet (French) double-feed newspaper press; three Mergenthalers. Foreign subscription price, \$12.75 per annum; advertising rates, \$0.21 per inch on last page with advertisements, \$0.32 per inch on second page with advertisements, \$0.85 per inch on third page with reading matter.

Crónica, Cordoba 861; afternoon daily; established 1914; 8 pages, 14½ by 21 inches; circulation, 3,500. Equipment: Heidelberg (German) cylinder press; two Mergenthalers. Foreign subscription price, \$12.75 per annum; advertising rates, \$0.21 per inch on pages with advertisements and \$0.42 per inch on pages with reading matter.

La República, Santa Fé 968; morning daily; established 1898; 8 pages, 16 by 22½ inches; circulation, 1,000. Equipment: Marinoni (French) double-feed newspaper press; Mergenthaler. Foreign subscription price, \$10.20 per annum; advertising rates, \$0.21 per inch on advertising pages.

El Civismo, Cordoba 1143; morning daily; established 1914; 8 pages, 16 by 23 inches; circulation, 1,600. Equipment: Augsburg (German) cylinder press; Canadian linotype. Foreign subscription price, \$10.20 per annum; advertising rates, \$0.16 per inch for advertising pages and \$0.21 per inch for pages with reading matter.

El Figaro, B. Mitre 1051; morning daily; established 1916; 8 pages, 14½ by 20½ inches; circulation, 1,500. Equipment: Augsburg (German) cylinder press; Mergenthaler. Foreign subscription price, \$8.50 per annum; advertising rates, \$1.06 per inch per month.

El Mercurio, Cordoba 951; weekly; established 1916; 4 pages, 18 by 26 inches; circulation, 1,000. Foreign subscription price, \$2.55 per annum; advertising rates, \$0.16 per inch.

La Razón, Cordoba 1331; weekly; established 1917; 8 pages, 14½ by 21 inches; circulation 1,000. Foreign subscription price, \$4.68 per annum; advertising rates, \$0.11 per inch.

Other weeklies or monthlies in Rosario: *El Deber*, *El Latigo*, *Heraldo de España*, *Suñ Generis*.

Newspapers in La Plata

El Día, Diagonal 80, No. 817-821; morning daily; established 1883; 8 pages, 15½ by 23½ inches; 31½-inch rolls; circulation, 15,000. Equipment: Marinoni (French) 16-page perfecting newspaper press; five German typographs; photo-engraving plant. Foreign subscription price, \$10.56 per annum; advertising rates, \$0.33 per inch for pages 2, 5, 6 and 7 and \$0.67 for other pages, subject to discount of 20 per cent for contracts.

El Argentino, Calle 49, No. 471; morning daily; established 1906; 6 to 8 pages, 17½ by 24 inches; 17½ and 35 inch rolls; circulation, 6,000. Equipment: Payne & Sons (Otley, England) 8-page flat-bed perfecting press; five German typographs. Foreign subscription price, \$10.56 per annum; advertising rates, \$0.11 per inch on pages 2 and 5 and \$0.16½ per inch on page 4, subject to discount for contracts.

La Provincia, Diagonal 80, No. 929; afternoon daily; established 1916; 8 pages, 16½ by 23 inches; circulation, 4,000. Equipment: Koenig & Bauer (German) cylinder press; Mergenthaler; German typograph; Eclipse folder. Foreign subscription price, \$8.80 per annum; advertising rates, \$0.25 per inch to \$44 per half page for one month.

Buenos Aires, Calle 51, No. 777; afternoon daily; established 1893; 4 pages, 17½ by 25½ inches; circulation, 1,800. Equipment: Marinoni (French) cylinder press; two German typographs. Foreign subscription price, \$5.28 per annum; advertising rates, \$0.11 per inch.

La República, Calle 8, Nos. 961-963; afternoon daily; established 1896; 8 pages, 16½ by 22½ inches; circulation, 4,000. Equipment: Marinoni (French) cylinder press; Mergenthaler. Foreign subscription price, \$20 per annum; advertising rates, \$0.27½ per inch for page 1, \$0.16½ per inch for pages 4 and 5, and \$0.11 per inch for other pages.

La Palabra, Calle 13, No. 845; afternoon daily; established 1913; 4 pages, 16 by 23 inches; circulation, 1,500. Foreign subscription price, \$11 per annum; advertising rates, \$0.11 per inch.

El Tribuno, Calle 48, No. 688; morning daily; established 1916; 4 pages, 16 by 23 inches; circulation, 1,600. Equipment: Augsburg (German) cylinder press. Foreign subscription price, \$10.56 per annum; advertising rates, 8 inches, \$15.40 per month.

Los Debates, Calle 12, No. 760; afternoon daily; established 1901; 8 pages, 16 by 23 inches; circulation, 900. Equipment: Marinoni (French) cylinder press. Foreign subscription price, \$4.40 per annum; advertising rates, \$1.10 per inch per month.

El Heraldo, Calle 48, No. 910; afternoon daily established 1913; 4 pages, 14½ by 21½ inches; circulation, 1,000. Equipment: Marinoni (French) cylinder press; C. & P. platen press. Foreign subscription price, \$4.40 per annum; advertising rates, \$0.11 per inch.

La Acción, Calle 7, No. 1150; afternoon daily; established 1913; 8 pages, 12½ by 17½ inches; circulation, 1,000. Equipment: Augsburg (German) cylinder press; two German typographs. Foreign subscription price, \$4.40 per annum; advertising rates, \$0.05½ per inch.

La Tarde, Calle 12, No. 631; afternoon daily; established 1916; 4 pages, 16 by 23 inches; circulation, 1,000. Equipment: Alauzet (French) cylinder press. Foreign subscription price, \$7.92 per annum; advertising rates, \$0.11 per inch.

Boletín Oficial de la Provincia de Buenos Aires, Calle 50, No. 577; official daily of the provincial government; 16 to 44 pages, 11 by 14½ inches; circulation, 1,500. Foreign subscription price, \$5.28 per annum; advertising rates, \$0.33 per inch.

Other Publications in the Interior

In the following list, names of cities and towns are in Roman type and names of periodicals in italics.

Acebal: *El Defensor*, daily; established 1905; 4 pages, 18 by 25½ inches.

Adolfor Alsina: *El Progreso*; weekly; established 1910; 4 pages, 16 by 23 inches.

Almirante Brown: *El Brown*; weekly; established 1906; 4 pages, 14¼ by 21½ inches.

Avellaneda: *El Socialista*; weekly; established 1909; 4 pages, 14¼ by 20½ inches.

Ayacucho: *El Comercio*; semiweekly; established 1910; 4 pages, 14¼ by 20½ inches.

Azul: *El Imparcial*; morning daily; established 1896; 4 pages, 18 by 25½ inches.

El Ciudadano; afternoon daily; established 1907; 4 pages, 18 by 25½ inches.

Balcarce: *La Tribuna*; weekly; established 1906; 4 pages, 17¾ by 25½ inches.

Bartolome Mitre: *La Opinión*; weekly; established 1916; 4 pages, 14¾ by 21½ inches.

Bolivar: *La Verdad*; weekly; established 1912; 8 pages, 12½ by 18 inches.

La Ley; semi-weekly; established 1911; 4 pages, 17¾ by 25 inches.

Bragado: *El Censor*; semiweekly; established 1908; 4 pages, 16 by 23 inches.

Bahia Blanca: *La Nueva Provincia*; morning daily; established 1898; 12 to 16 pages, 16 by 23½ inches. Equipment: Augsburg 24-page perfecting press; two Mergenthalers; two Canadian linotypes; photo-engraving plant. Foreign subscription price, \$24.60 per annum.

Bahia Blanca; morning daily; established 1905; 8 pages, 16 by 23 inches. Equipment: Augsburg (German) cylinder press; four German typographs; photo-engraving plant.

El Siglo; morning daily; established 1916; 10 pages, 16 by 23 inches.

El Censor; afternoon daily. Equipment: Wormatia (German) cylinder press, two German typographs.

Bella Vista: *El Civico*; weekly; established 1912; 4 pages, 15 by 20½ inches.

Campaña: *El Imparcial*; semiweekly; established 1909; 4 pages, 15 by 21½ inches.

Castex: *Tribuna Radical*; weekly; established 1917; 4 pages, 14¼ by 20½ inches.

Catamarca: *El Día*; afternoon daily; established 1911; 4 pages, 16½ by 23 inches.

La Ley; triweekly; established 1896; 4 pages; 16½ by 24 inches.

Chacabuco: *Chacabuco*; semiweekly; established 1911; 4 pages, 19 by 26 inches.

Chascomús: *El Cronista*; morning daily; established 1915; 4 pages, 17½ by 25½ inches.

El Argentino; morning daily; established 1886; 4 pages, 17½ by 25½ inches.

Chivilcoy: *La Razón*; afternoon daily; established 1911; 4 pages, 17½ by 25½ inches.

La Democracia; morning daily; established 1885; 4 pages, 20½ by 28½ inches.

El Tribuno; morning daily; established 1917; 8 pages, 15 by 23 inches.

Chubut: *La República*; semiweekly; established 1912; 8 pages, 14 by 21 inches.

Comodore Rivadavia: *El Rivadavia*; weekly; established 1915; 12 pages, 14½ by 20½ inches.

Concordia: *El Litoral*; afternoon daily; established 1900; 4 pages, 22 by 30½ inches.

La Voz del Norte; morning daily; established 1916; 4 pages, 14½ by 22 inches.

La Provincia; morning daily; established 1917; 4 pages, 16½ by 23 inches.

El Orden; morning daily; established 1916; 4 pages, 14½ by 22 inches.

Cordoba: *Los Principios*; Avenida G. Paz 75, morning daily; established 1893; 12 pages, 17½ by 22 inches. Equipment: Duplex 12-page flat-bed perfecting press; Augsburg cylinder press; Brehmer (German) folding machine; three German platen presses; six German typographs; Canadian linotype; photo-engraving plant. Foreign subscription price, \$24 per annum.

La Voz del Interior; 9 de Julio 63, morning daily; established 1903; 10 pages, 17 by 24 inches. Equipment: Flat-bed perfecting press; four Mergenthalers; photo-engraving plant. Foreign subscription price, \$24 per annum; advertising rates, \$1.07 per inch for one insertion to \$3.22 per inch per month.

La República, Rivera Indarte 56; morning daily; established 1916; 8 pages, 16 by 23 inches; circulation, 4,500. Equipment: Augsburg cylinder press; photo-engraving plant. Foreign subscription price, \$24 per annum; advertising rates, \$0.96 per inch for one insertion to \$2.14 per inch for one month.

La Opinión, Santa Rosa 36; afternoon daily; established 1915; 8 pages, 16 by 23 inches. Equipment: Marinoni (French) cylinder press.

Coronel Pringles: *Pringles*; weekly; established 1910; 8 pages, 12½ by 17½ inches.

Corrientes: *El Liberal*; afternoon daily; established 1914; 4 pages, 14½ by 20½ inches.

La Constitución; morning daily; established 1917; 4 pages, 14½ by 20½ inches.

Corrientes; triweekly; established 1910; 4 pages, 16 by 23 inches.

La Libertad; triweekly; established 1890; 4 pages, 14½ by 20 inches.

Boletín Oficial; official daily; established 1910; 4 to 8 pages, 11½ by 16 inches.

La Santísima Cruz de los Milagros; semimonthly; established 1916; 4 pages, 10½ by 14½ inches.

Curuzu Cuatia: *Los Principios*; weekly; established 1916; 4 pages, 14½ by 20½ inches.

Dolores: *La Patria*; afternoon daily; established 1876; 4 pages, 16 by 23 inches.

Esperanza de Santa Fe: *El Colono*; semiweekly; established 1910; 4 pages, 16 by 22½ inches.

Galvez: *El Popular*; weekly; established 1911; 4 pages, 16 by 23 inches.

General Alvear: *La Verdad*; weekly; established 1915; 8 pages, 11½ by 16 inches.

General Lamadrid: *Democracia*; weekly; established 1917; 8 pages, 12½ by 17 inches.

General Madriaga: *La Semana*; weekly; established 1910; 4 pages, 14½ by 23 inches.

General Pico: *Maraco*; semiweekly; established 1915; 4 pages, 14½ by 20½ inches.

El Combate; semiweekly; established 1916; 4 pages, 14½ by 20½ inches.

General Pico; semiweekly; established 1912; 4 pages, 14½ by 20½ inches.

Nuevos Rumbos; semiweekly; established 1912; 4 pages, 14½ by 20½ inches.

El Derecho; weekly; established 1916; 4 pages, 14½ by 20½ inches.

General Piran: *La Voz de General Piran*; weekly; established 1907; 4 pages, 16 by 23 inches.

General Roca: *Rio Negro*; weekly; established 1911; 4 pages, 14 by 20½ inches.

General Villegas: *El Comentario*; weekly; established 1914; 6 pages, 18 by 25 inches.

La Verdad; weekly; established 1903; 14 pages, 17½ by 25 inches.

Gonzales Chavez: *La Reacción*; semiweekly; established 1907; 4 pages, 16 by 23 inches.

Goya: *La Patria*; weekly; established 1872; 6 pages, 16½ by 25 inches.

Guauguay: *La Opinión*; daily; established 1916; 14½ by 22 inches.

Guauguaychu: *El Censor*; afternoon daily; established 1900; 8 pages, 15½ by 23½ inches.

El Argentino; afternoon daily; established 1912; 8 pages, 12½ by 18 inches.

El Noticiero; triweekly; established 1897; 4 pages, 14½ by 20½ inches.

Los Principios; weekly; established 1889; 4 pages, 14½ by 20½ inches.

Guamini: *El Censor*; weekly; established 1911; 4 pages, 14½ by 20½ inches.

Junin: *El Mentor*; morning daily; established 1898; 4 pages, 16½ by 22 inches.

Jujuy: *El Provincial*; afternoon daily; established 1910; 4 pages, 17½ by 26 inches.

El Dia; afternoon daily; established 1910; 4 pages, 16½ by 26 inches.

Juarez: *El Tribuno*; weekly; established 1916; 4 pages, 14½ by 20½ inches.

La Banda: *El Figaro*; triweekly; established 1913; 4 pages, 14½ by 20½ inches.

Lanus: *La Comuna*; weekly; established 1916; 4 pages, 14½ by 20 inches.

La Rioja: *El Independiente*; weekly; established 1902; 4 pages, 14½ by 20½ inches.

Las Flores: *Acción Social*; weekly; established 1917; 4 pages, 13 by 18½ inches.

Lobos: *La Vida*; semimonthly; established 1916; 4 pages, 12½ by 18 inches.

Lujan: *La Opinión*; weekly; established 1912; 4 pages, 14½ by 21½ inches.

Macachin: *Nueva Epoca*; weekly; established 1916; 4 pages, 12½ by 18 inches.

Maipu: *La Voz*; afternoon daily; established 1902; 4 pages, 14½ by 20½ inches.

La Reacción; weekly; established 1917; 4 pages, 14½ by 20½ inches.

Mar del Plata: *La Capital*; morning daily; established 1904; 4 pages, 17¾ by 25½ inches.

Mendoza: *Los Andes*, Lavalle 94; morning daily; established 1881; 8 to 12 pages. 17 by 26½ inches; 35-inch rolls; circulation, 10,000. Equipment, Hoe 24-page perfecting press; three Mergenthalers. Foreign subscription price, \$24.20 per annum; advertising rates, \$0.20 to \$0.30 per inch.

La Tarde, Calle San Martin; afternoon daily; established 1910; 8 pages, 16 by 23 inches; circulation, 3,000. Equipment: German cylinder press; three Mergenthals. Foreign subscription price, \$24.20 per annum; advertising rates, \$0.15 to \$0.25 per inch.

La Palabra; Necochea 36-40; afternoon daily; established 1916; 8 pages, 16 by 23 inches; circulation, 3,000. Equipment: Augsburg (German) cylinder press; two German typographs. Foreign subscription price, \$24 per annum; advertising rates, \$0.15 to \$0.20 per inch.

Noticias; Rivadavia 215; morning daily; established 1917; 8 pages, 14½ by 22 inches; circulation, 2,000. Foreign subscription price, \$23.50 per annum; advertising rates, \$0.15 to \$0.20 per inch.

Mercedes de San Luis: *El Imparcial*; afternoon daily; established 1897; 4 pages, 18 by 26 inches.

La Voz del Sur; daily; established 1902; 4 pages, 17½ by 25 inches.

Mercedes: *El Orden*; triweekly; established 1894; 4 pages, 21 by 29½ inches.

La Provincia; established 1909.

Mercedes (Corrientes): *La Razón*; weekly; established 1898; 4 pages, 16 by 22½ inches.

Mar Chiquita (Coronel Vidal): *El Pueblo*; weekly; established 1901; 4 pages, 16 by 23 inches.

Monte Caseros: *Voz Casareña*; weekly; established 1916; 4 pages, 14½ by 20½ inches.

Necochea: *Necochea*; afternoon daily; established 1909; 4 pages, 16 by 23 inches.

Neuquen: *Neuquen*; afternoon daily; established 1909; 4 pages, 17 by 24½ inches.

Nueva Era; afternoon daily; established 1917; 4 pages, 14½ by 20½ inches.

Nueve de Julio: *El Porvenir*; weekly; established 1894; 4 pages, 16 by 23 inches.

El Luchador; semiweekly; established 1903; 4 pages, 16 by 25 inches.

El 9 de Julio; semiweekly; established 1908; 8 pages, 10½ by 14½ inches.

Olavarria: *El Popular*; triweekly; established 1895; 8 pages, 16 by 23 inches.

La Democracia; triweekly; established 1901; 8 pages, 14 by 20 inches.

Olivos: *La Unión*; weekly; established 1911; 8 pages, 11½ by 16 inches.

Parana: *El Diario*; morning daily; established 1913; 8 pages, 14½ by 23 inches.

Equipment: One Mergenthaler.

La Acción; morning daily; established 1911; 4 pages, 16 by 23 inches.

El Entre-Ríos; afternoon daily; established 1894; 6 pages, 14 by 20½ inches.

El Demócrata; afternoon daily; established 1917; 4 pages, 14½ by 20½ inches.

Boletín Oficial; official weekly; established 1913; 8 to 24 pages, 10½ by 14½ inches. Equipment: One Mergenthaler.

Pehuajo: *La Unión*; afternoon daily; established 1905; 4 pages, 18½ by 28½ inches.

Pergamino: *La Epoca*; morning daily; established 1906; 4 pages, 17½ by 25½ inches.

El Pueblo; morning daily; established 1908; 6 pages, 14½ by 20½ inches.

Posadas: *El Eco de Misiones*; weekly; established 1902; 4 pages, 14½ by 20½ inches.

El Radical; afternoon daily; established 1913; 4 pages, 16 by 23 inches.

El Pueblo; morning daily; established 1904; 4 pages, 16½ by 24 inches.

Puerto Deseado: *El Sur*; weekly; established 1913; 8 pages, 12 by 17 inches.

Puerto Madryn: *Golfo Nuevo*; weekly; established 1913; 4 pages, 12½ by 18½ inches.

Puerto Santa Cruz: *La Capital*; weekly; established 1917; 4 pages, 12½ by 17 inches.

Punta Alta: *Nueva Epoca*; weekly; established 1907; 4 pages, 14½ by 20½ inches.

Rafaela: *El Liberal*; weekly; established 1893; 8 pages, 16 by 23 inches.

La Patria; weekly; established 1909; 8 pages, 16 by 23 inches.

Resistencia: *La Voz de Chaco*; afternoon daily; established 1916; 4 pages, 16 by 23 inches.

El Colono; weekly; established 1904; 4 pages, 16 by 23 inches.

El Constitucional; weekly; established 1914; 4 pages, 14½ by 20½ inches.

Nueva Era; weekly; established 1916; 4 pages, 14½ by 20½ inches.

Heraldo Chaqueño; semiweekly; established 1917; 4 pages, 14½ by 20½ inches.

Rio Cuarto: *El Orden*; morning daily; established 1907; 4 pages, 16 by 23 inches.

El Pueblo; morning daily; established 1912; 4 pages, 14½ by 20½ inches.

El Imparcial; afternoon daily; established 1917; 4 pages, 14½ by 20½ inches.

Rioja: *El Independiente*; weekly; established 1902; 4 pages, 14½ by 20½ inches.

La Verdad; weekly; established 1917; 4 pages, 15 by 22 inches.

Rio Gallegos: *La Opinión Española*; weekly; established 1917; 4 pages, 17½ by 25 inches.

La Unión; weekly; established 1906; 8 pages, 14½ by 20½ inches.

Rojas: *El Orden*; weekly; established 1916; 4 pages, 10½ by 14½ inches.

Saladillo: *El Argentino*; weekly; established 1909; 4 pages, 17½ by 25 inches.

La Semana; weekly; established 1912; 8 pages, 11½ by 15½ inches.

Saliqueló: *El Progreso*; weekly; established 1916; 4 pages, 14 by 20½ inches.

Salta: *El Cívico*; morning daily; established 1890; 4 pages, 17½ by 25 inches.

La Libertad; morning daily; established 1916; 4 pages, 17½ by 25 inches.

La Provincia; morning daily; established 1907; 8 pages, 14½ by 20½ inches.

Tribuna Popular; morning daily; established 1905; 4 pages, 20½ by 28½ inches.

San Isidro: *La Libertad*; weekly; established 1917; 4 pages, 13½ by 19½ inches.

Boletín Municipal; semimonthly; established 1913; 4 pages, 10 by 15½ inches.

San Juan: *Debates*; afternoon daily; established 1911; 6 pages, 15½ by 22½ inches.

El Porvenir; morning daily; established 1898; 8 pages, 16½ by 23 inches.

Equipment: One Mergenthaler.

San Juan; afternoon daily; established 1909; 8 pages, 16 by 23 inches.

Diario Nuevo; daily; established 1916; 6 pages, 16 by 23 inches.

San Francisco: *La Voz de San Justo*; weekly; established 1915; 14½ by 21½ inches.

San Luis: *La Provincia*; afternoon daily; established 1905; 4 pages, 16 by 23 inches.

La Reforma; semiweekly; established 1892; 4 pages, 16 by 23 inches.

La Opinión; afternoon daily; established 1912; 4 pages, 15½ by 22½ inches.

Equipment: One Mergenthaler.

San Nicolas: *El Noticiero*; afternoon daily; established 1895; 4 pages, 17½ by 25 inches.

San Pedro: *Sarmiento*; weekly; established 1916; 4 pages, 10½ by 14½ inches.

San Pedro de Jujuy: *El Eco*; weekly; 4 pages, 14½ by 22 inches.

Santa Fe: *Santa Fe*; morning daily; established 1910; 8 to 12 pages, 16 by 22 inches; 32-inch rolls; circulation, 6,000. Equipment: Flat-bed perfecting newspaper press; two Mergenthalers; four German typographs. Foreign subscription price, \$20 per annum.

Nueva Época; morning daily; established 1885; 8 pages, 16 by 23 inches; circulation, 5,000. Equipment: Two Marinoni (French) cylinder presses; two German typographs. Foreign subscription price, \$20 per annum; advertising rates \$0.14 to \$0.30 per inch.

La Palabra; afternoon daily; established 1916; 8 pages, 16 by 23 inches.

El Imparcial; weekly; established 1913; 4 pages, 14½ by 20½ inches.

Santa Rosa: *La Capital*; morning daily; established 1895; 4 pages, 16 by 23 inches.

Tribuna; weekly; established 1917; 4 pages, 14½ by 20½ inches.

La Autonomía; afternoon daily; established 1908; 4 pages, 14½ by 21½ inches.

Santiago del Estero: *El Siglo*; afternoon daily; established 1900; 4 pages, 23 by 32 inches.

El Liberal; afternoon daily; established 1898; 8 pages, 16 by 23 inches.

Tandil: *El Restituyente*; semiweekly; established 1915; 4 pages, 16 by 23 inches.

Trelew: *El Pueblo*; weekly; established 1917; 4 pages, 14½ by 20½ inches.

Trenque-Lauquen: *El Independiente*; weekly; established 1898; 4 pages, 16 by 23 inches.

El Cívico; semiweekly; established 1912; 4 pages, 14½ by 20½ inches.

Tres Arroyos: *La Palabra*; morning daily; established 1917; 4 pages, 14½ by 20½ inches.

La Razón; afternoon daily; established 1912; 6 pages, 16 by 23 inches.

Tucuman: *El Orden*; afternoon daily; established 1881; 8 pages, 17½ by 25 inches. Equipment: Marinoni (French) perfecting newspaper press; three Mergenthalers. Foreign subscription price, \$16.72 per annum.

La Gaceta; morning daily; established 1912; 8 pages, 17½ by 25 inches. Equipment: Duplex (Swiss) flat-bed perfecting press; three Mergenthalers. Foreign subscription price, \$16 per annum.

La Patria; morning daily; established 1917; 8 pages, 14½ by 22 inches.

La Voz del Pueblo; weekly; established 1917; 4 pages, 14½ by 21½ inches.

Uruguay: *Evolución*; afternoon daily; established 1907; 4 pages, 14½ by 20½ inches.

Democracia; triweekly; established 1916; 4 pages, 14½ by 20½ inches.

La Juventud; triweekly; established 1896; 4 pages, 16 by 23 inches.

Urdinarrain: *Urdinarrain*; weekly; established 1909; 4 pages, 16 by 23 inches.

Victoria: *El Aura*; weekly; established 1913; 4 pages, 14½ by 20½ inches.

La Coalición; triweekly; established 1900; 4 pages, 16 by 23 inches.

La Tarde; afternoon daily; established 1916; 4 pages, 16 by 23 inches.

La Prensa Libre; semiweekly; established 1907; 4 pages, 16 by 23 inches.

Victoria: *El Heraldo*; weekly; established 1908; 4 pages, 14½ by 20½ inches.

Viedma: *Flores del Campo*; daily; established 1902; 4 pages, 14½ by 20½ inches.

La Nueva Era; weekly; established 1902; 4 pages, 16½ by 25 inches.

Viente Cinco de Mayo: *El Imparcial*; weekly; established 1895; 4 pages, 17½ by 25 inches.

Villa Dolores: *El Debate*; semiweekly; established 1917; 4 pages, 14½ by 20½ inches.

Villaguay: *La Razon*; semiweekly; established 1910; 4 pages, 14½ by 20½ inches.

Villa Maria: *Tercero Abajo*; weekly; established 1906; 4 pages, 16 by 23 inches.

El Heraldo; weekly; established 1916; 4 pages, 16 by 23 inches.

Villa Mercedes: *Diario Moderno*; daily; established 1917; 4 pages, 16½ by 25 inches.

Important notices on various economic factors of Hispanic America were published in *Commerce Reports* for January and February, 1919, as follows:

- Agricultural education in Ecuador. No. 21, January 25.
Agricultural production of Jalisco, Mexico. No. 44, February 21.
American steel office furniture in Cuba. No. 25, January 30.
Annual report of the Peruvian Corporation. No. 46, February 25.
Argentine commercial failures for last year. No. 18, January 22.
Argentine export duties. No. 30, February 5.
Argentine meat for Sweden. No. 12, January 15.
Available exportable surplus of Argentine maize. No. 38, February 14.
Awards on bids for Brazilian caustic-soda works. No. 21, January 25.
Branch of the National City Bank opened in Matanzas. No. 35, February 11.
Brazil withdraws authorization for German banks. No. 30, February 5.
Brazilian companies can reinsure in other companies (Government decree.) No. 45, February 23.
Brazilian market for wood-working machinery. No. 16, January 20.
British insurance companies authorized to operate in Brazil. No. 28, February 3.
Budget deficit and proposed bond issue in Uruguay. No. 41, February 18.
Bureau of animal industry for Guayaquil. No. 25, January 30.
Castor beans in Central America. No. 34, February 10.
Central Uruguay Railway not to change hands. No. 47, February 26.
The Chilean nitrate situation. No. 18, January 22.
Coffee culture in Central America. No. 42, February 19.
Commercial Congress in Mexico. No. 28, February 3.
Compañía Swift de Montevideo increases capital. No. 14, January 17.
Condition of Mexican trade in chili peppers. No. 30, February 5.
Congress of production in Uruguay. No. 44, February 21.
Cotton growing in Northern Argentina. No. 46, February 25.
Cuban markets for toys. No. 25, January 30.
Cultivation of peanuts, chick-peas, and beans in Argentina. No. 9, January 11.

- Denouncement of Mexican oil claims. No. 29, February 4.
- Development of Argentine linseed trade. No. 28, February 3.
- Development work in the State of Espiritu Santo, Brazil. No. 20, January 24.
- Dominican Republic's interest in castor beans. No. 45, February 23.
- Ecuador encourages agriculture and industry. No. 27, February 1.
- Ecuador establishes crude-salt monopoly. No. 28, February 3.
- Electrical supplies in Uruguay. No. 45, February 23.
- Estimate of Argentine crops. No. 11, January 14.
- Excellent wool clip in Uruguay. No. 4, January 6.
- Exchange radio service for Argentina and Paraguay. No. 47, February 26.
- First South American Rotary Club at Montevideo. No. 16, January 20.
- Free admission of railway supplies into Mexico. No. 47, February 26.
- Future of American shoe trade in Chile. No. 9, January 11.
- Government-aid sugar central for Jamaica. No. 2, January 3.
- High cost of living in Argentina. No. 14, January 17.
- Important Mexican tariff measures. No. 11, January 14.
- Increase in Venezuela's trade with the United States. No. 35, February 11.
- Jones, Grosvenor M.: Importance of the Port of Arica. No. 3, January 4.
- Loan authorized for public improvements in Lima, Peru. No. 5, January 7.
- Manganese ore in Uruguay. No. 6, January 8.
- Market demands and selling methods in Cuba. No. 24, January 29.
- Market for American steel and iron products in Cardenas. No. 8, January 10.
- Market for matches in Panama. No. 17, January 21.
- Market for shoe polish in Guadeloupe. No. 17, January 21.
- Maximum prices in Uruguay. No. 41, February 18.
- Mexican exchange in New York in 1918. No. 47, February 26.
- Mexican exemption of duties on vehicles. No. 15, January 18.
- Mexican importers expect a reduction in prices of goods. No. 38, February 14.
- Mexican railway receipts show increase. No. 47, February 26.
- Mineral resources of Guatemala. No. 26, January 31.
- Mining and forest industries of British Guiana. No. 9, January 11.
- Mining in Guatemala. No. 38, February 14.
- New abattoir for Panama City. No. 28, February 3.

- The New Banking Law of the Republic of Mexico. No. 27, February 1.
New routing of vessels of the Lloyd Brasileiro Steamship Line. No. 28, February 3.
Notes on "Latin-American" markets. No. 41, February 18.
The onyx fields of the Salina Cruz (Mexico) district. No. 25, January 30.
Openings in Argentina for insurance companies. No. 26, January 31.
Operations of Banco Argentino-Uruguayo in Buenos Aires. No. 5, January 7.
Panama Canal operations for December. No. 47, February 26.
Peruvian Exchange situation. No. 20, January 24.
Peruvian sugar situation. No. 36, February 12.
Practice of handling bills of exchange in Central America. No. 37, February 13.
Progress of Dairy Industry in Argentina. No. 1, January 2.
Profit sharing in Uruguayan State Industrial institutions. No. 48, February 27.
Promotion of industry in Jujuy, Argentina. No. 20, January 24.
Proposed conversion of Mexican national debt. No. 49, February 28.
Recent Argentine import statistics. No. 35, February 11.
Record shipment of Mexican henequen to Spain. No. 46, February 25.
Renewal of Brazilian preference for American products. No. 21, January 25.
Resolutions adopted by the Rural Congress at Montevideo. No. 46, February 25.
Restoration of Mexican duties on foodstuffs. No. 7, January 9.
Shipping conditions in Central America. No. 34, February 10.
Shipments from Porto Rico to Dominican Republic. No. 2, January 3.
Sugar exports from Cardenas (Cuba) during December. No. 27, February 1.
The sugar industry in Brazil. No. 21, January 25.
Sugar production of Guatemala. No. 36, February 12.
Surtax on parcel-post imports in Mexico. No. 33, February 8.
Tampico oil exports for October. No. 6, January 8; *id.*, December. No. 32, February 7.
Timber concessions in Nicaragua. No. 21, January 25.
The Ural and Choco platinum fields. No. 3, January 4.
Uruguayan shoe industry. No. 4, January 6.
Uruguayan trade with the United States shows increase. No. 28, February 3.
Wearing apparel in Peru. No. 24, January 29.

In addition to the foregoing, the following recently published *Supplements to Commerce Reports*; each of which is a monograph, are of interest:

- Argentina. By Consul General W. Henry Robertson, Buenos Aires. Annual Series, No. 38a, February 27, 1919.
- Brazil. By Vice Consul Richard P. Momsen, Rio de Janeiro. Annual Series, No. 40a, February 12, 1919. Another edition, February 24.
- Cuba. By Consul Charles S. Winans. Annual Series, No. 25a, February 25, 1919.
- Dominican Republic. By Consul Arthur McLean. Annual Series, No. 26a, January 24, 1919.
- British Guiana. By Consul George E. Chamberlain. Annual Series, No. 44a, February 1, 1919.
- British West Indies. By Vice Consul Davis B. Levis. Annual Series, No. 22a, January 20, 1919.
- Dutch West Indies. By Consul George S. Messersmith. Annual Series, No. 27a, November 12, 1918.

During the last few years, the Venezuelan press has been turning out a number of historical works that are admirable from every point of view. In regard to their book technique, many are satisfying, and are dignified and beautiful specimens of the printer's art. Among such historical works that have lately passed through our hands are the following:

Estados Unidos de Venezuela: Acta de la Independencia, MDCCCXI. Recuerdo de su Primer Centenario Celebrado bajo la Presidencia del Gral Juan Vicente Gómez, 1911. Caracas, [1911].

This is a photographic facsimile of the Venezuelan Declaration of Independence which was written on both sides of four sheets of paper. The signatures of those who signed the declaration are also included. At the beginning of the publication is a photographic facsimile of the resolution of May 31, 1911, recognizing this publication as official; and at the end is a reproduction of the Signing of the "Solemn Act of Independence". The appearance of the publication is in keeping with its character.

El Libro Nacional de los Venezolanos. Actas del Congreso Constituyente de Venezuela en 1811. Orígenes de la República. Publicación Oficial Acordada por el Ciudadano General Juan Vicente Gómez, Presidente Constitucional de los Estados Unidos de Venezuela, 1911. Caracas, Tipografía Americana. (1911). Pp. xiii, (3), 436.

The entire volume is of value as a prime source for historical study. Of chief interest is the "Acta Solemne de Independencia", of July 5, 1811.

Sánchez, Manuel Segundo: *Apuntes para la Iconografía del Libertador*. Caracas Litografía del Comercio, 1916. Pp. 37 and 29 full length plates.

This is a fine product of the printer's art, and would be hailed as a masterpiece in any country. Good paper, generous margins, beautiful types and excellent presswork, especially on the half-tone reproductions, combine to make this volume pleasing to the eye and worthy the excellence of the text. In his preface the author modestly says: "The lines to be read here are an interpretation of our personal impressions, and are to be considered merely as a simple offering to our knowledge of the iconography of Bolívar. We do not aspire to say the last word in a matter as complicated as it is vast concerning Bolívar. If our appreciations do not tally with historical truth—the only end we are trying to attain—we shall receive with enthusiasm the correction of our errors." The text treats of the following matters: Physical characteristics of Bolívar; The most authentic paintings; The Bolívar of London, 1810; The Bolívar of Lima, 1825; The Bolívar of Cartagena, 1830; the picture by Espinosa; other pictures existing in Caracas; Three unknown pictures; The lithograph by Casar de Molina; the engraving by Bate; The medallion by David d'Angers; The profile by Carmelo Fernández; Other notable lithographs; Statues; Venezuelan painters and sculptors; Two invaluable losses; and conclusion. The text is followed by half-tone reproductions of the various pictures and statues mentioned and described in the text. Scholarship and the printer have made this a desirable volume.

Memorias del General O'Leary Traducidas del Inglés por su Hijo. Simón B. O'Leary y Publicadas por Orden del Gobierno de Venezuela. Apéndice. Tomo tercero. Caracas. Encuadernación de la Escuela de Artes y Oficios para Hombres, 1917. Pp. 512.

A preliminary note is as follows: "Of the thirty-two volumes published of the O'Leary Collection, the first twenty-six are numbered I.-XXVI.; the three following, comprising the Narrative written by General O'Leary, are designated by the ordinals First, Second, and Third, but since the last named, namely, that corresponding to the Appendix, was eliminated, it was planned to conceal this lack by numbering the next three documents containing the Letters of the

Liberator, XXIX., XXX., and XXXI., instead of designating them by their proper numbers, XXX., XXXI., and XXXII". A note by Simón B. O'Leary is as follows: "Volumes I. and II., which we have published under the title of 'Narrative', contain that part of his *Memoirs* written and arranged for the press by General O'Leary. The present appendix is comprised of the diaries and memoranda found among his papers, and his correspondence with the Liberator, which we are also publishing as we believe them to be of interest for the history of Columbia."

Díaz-Rodríguez, Manuel: *Sermones Líricos*. Caracas, Talleres de Linotipo de "El Universo". 1918. Pp. ix, 356.

Many of the themes of this well written work are of interest to the historical student. The volume is tastefully printed.

In his "Annual report of the Director of the Department of Historical Research", of the Carnegie Institute of Washington, Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, outlines the work of the Institution touching Spanish operations in the Southwest as follows:

Especially interesting to the Department, although originating outside its normal sphere of operations, has been the matter of the Bandelier transcripts. In October 1911 the trustees of the Institution made a special grant to the late Dr. Adolph F. Bandelier, to enable him to pursue further, in the Archives of the Indies, at Seville, those documentary investigations into the history of the Pueblo Indians of the Southwest which in former times he had pursued so fruitfully in the archives of the City of Mexico and of the Valley of the Rio Grande. Dr. Bandelier proceeded to Seville, but fell ill and died there before he had much more than begun his researches. Continuing them along lines indicated by him, Mrs. Bandelier made transcripts of a large mass of documents relating to the Pueblo Indians, which on her return to America were turned over to the Carnegie Institution of Washington, together with some transcripts previously obtained by her husband in Mexico. Dr. Bandelier's intention having been to supplement in Seville such documents as chance and skillful search had already brought into his way in America, this present collection bears naturally a somewhat accidental character, not marked by any high degree of unity; yet it contains much that is interesting, and taken as a whole is capable of forming an impressive collection, adding much to our knowledge of the early history of the Spanish-Indian Southwest, especially of the part along the Rio Grande.

That this gratifying result might be achieved, the Executive Committee of the Trustees requested this Department to take general charge of the work of preparing the transcripts for publication. Dr. Charles W. Hackett, then of the University of California, now acting assistant professor of history in that of Texas, a scholar having an intimate knowledge of Southwestern history, and apparently the best qualified person available, was engaged as editor. Under his direction, the work of copying the transcripts for the printer (a process made

necessary by peculiarities of their form) has been completed, and his assistants have nearly finished the careful translations which are to accompany the texts. He has also done much of the work necessary for writing the introductions and annotations. It is probable that the year 1919 will see the task completed, within the appropriation made, and the book ready for print.

Some of the documents brought back by Mrs. Bandelier have been omitted, either because they were of insufficient importance or because their substance was already accessible in print. On the other hand, there were instances where a series of documents, incomplete as it stood, could be made more complete and more intelligible if gaps should be supplied by the use of documents from one or another of three existing collections of transcripts of similar character preserved elsewhere in the United States. These are the collection also made by Dr. Bandelier, which resulted from the Hemenway Expedition of 1887, and which is now in the possession of the Peabody Museum of Archaeology at Cambridge; the great collection of Spanish transcripts accumulated by Mr. Edward E. Ayer of Chicago; and that preserved in the Bancroft Library at the University of California. To fill gaps of the kind indicated above, Dr. Hackett was asked to designate a limited number of documents from these collections which, with the permission of the owners, might be included in the volumes which he is preparing. With gratifying liberality, the desired permissions were readily accorded by Mr. Ayer and by the authorities of the Peabody Museum and the Bancroft Library, and arrangements have been made for the procuring of copies.

It is estimated that, texts and translations together, the collection will make three or four volumes of the ordinary size of the Institution's publications. Although they will be somewhat lacking in unity and completeness, as is natural from the method by which the original expedition was planned, nevertheless they will cast much new light on early Pueblo and other Southwestern history. One section, of much interest, consists of authentic reports concerning the services and merits of discoveries and conquistadores in New Spain, beginning with companions of Cortes. Another consists of documents relating to the administration of the Indies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The largest body relates to the conquest and subsequent internal affairs of New Mexico, extending over the whole period from 1593 to 1773. Other sections relate to the affairs of Nueva Galicia, Nueva Vizcaya, and adjacent regions. All Professor Hackett's proceedings thus far have been systematic and prompt, and, in view of his known scholarship in the field in question, a publication highly creditable to the Institution is to be expected.

The Year Book, 1918 of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, will be found to contain numerous references to Hispanic America. The Carnegie Endowment carries on considerable work looking toward peace and friendship in the Americas. One of the most important actions taken by it has been the arrangement of the lecture tour of American institutions of learning by Dr. Alejandro Álvarez, the eminent Chilean jurisconsult and Secretary General of the American Institute of International Law. This was initiated last year (1917) among lead-

ing universities of the east, northwest, and south, and has been continued upon a somewhat larger scale during 1918. In all Dr. Álvarez lectured at 28 of the principal educational institutions of the United States. The subjects selected by Dr. Álvarez for his lectures were the following:

1. The Rôle and Influence of the American Continent in the Reconstruction of International Law.
2. The Duty of the Universities of our Continent to Collaborate in the Reconstruction of the Political and Social Sciences.
3. Necessity of unifying the Anglo-American and the "Latin American" Schools of International Law and of Creating a Pan American School.
4. The New Monroe Doctrine and American Public Law.

Lectures were delivered at the following colleges and universities in 1918: Pittsburgh, Ohio State, Oberlin, Indiana, Illinois, Minnesota, Iowa, Nebraska, Kansas, Colorado, Washington, Oregon, California, Leland Stanford Junior, Southern California, and Texas. The tour has been very successful and the objects sought were obtained.

The Arthur H. Clark Publishing Company of Cleveland is about to bring out a two-volume work on "Father Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimería Alta" which was compiled and edited by Prof. Herbert E. Bolton of the University of California. Father Kino, as an intrepid explorer, occupies a place in history with De Soto, La Salle and other pioneers, and more fortunate than many, his records have come down to posterity. This work will be a welcome addition to the history of the Southwest.

Dr. Charles E. Chapman, in a forthcoming volume on California treats, among other matters, of the following: The geographic basis of California history; the Indians of California and the Indian problem as viewed by the Spaniards; Cortés in California (presenting new material); the name "California"; the northern mystery and the discovery of Alta California; the Manila galleon; Drake and New Albion; Gali and Rodríguez Cermenho; and Sebastian Vizcaíno.

Dr. Charles E. Chapman's *Catalogue of Materials in the Archivo General de Indias for the History of the Pacific Coast and the American Southwest* has recently been issued from the University of California Press at Berkeley, California. This bulky volume has 6,257 separate entries and is the greatest single contribution to unpublished source

material that has yet appeared in its field. The list of titles is preceded by a comprehensive essay by Dr. Chapman, and the list is made readily available by a good index. This work will be reviewed in a later issue of this REVIEW.

Clayton Sedgwick Cooper, the author of *The Brazilians and their Country*, *The Man of Egypt*, and other books and of many articles on Hispanic America, that have appeared in *The South American*, in his volume published by the George H. Doran Company in 1918, namely, *Understanding South America*, discusses the industries and institutions of South America, and points out "some of the leading characteristics and tendencies of the South Americans who represent many diverse types and sections". Mr. Cooper writes in a sympathetic spirit, and the attitude in which he approaches his theme may be seen from the following quotation taken from his preface: "It is still too literally true that Americans in general are blissfully ignorant of the real motives that actuate our southern neighbours. We have been too accustomed to think of South Americans from what we have been pleased to consider a higher plane. As a rule we have not realized that in many respects South Americans are superior to North Americans, both as to their ideals and the manner of life in general". A discussion of this volume will appear in a later issue of this REVIEW.

The *Concurso de Bibliografía y Biblioteconomía convocado por la Biblioteca Nacional; Estudios premiados dados a luz bajo la Dirección de Juan B. Iguíniz*, published under the auspices of the Biblioteca Nacional of Mexico (México, Departamento de Aprovisionamientos Generales, 1918), is a valuable and timely work. It contains (1) Bibliografía de la Revolución Mexicana de 1910-1916, por Ignacio B. del Castillo; (2) Bibliografía de la Imprenta de la Cámara de Diputados, 1912-1915, por Ignacio B. del Castillo; (3) Los Historiadores de Jalisco, por Juan B. Iguíniz; (4) Los Grabadores en México durante la Época Colonial, por Manuel Romero de Torrenos. The first section is of special interest and is comprehensive, containing 799 titles with exact bibliographical details. It will be of great assistance to librarians collecting this material.—C. K. JONES.

Frederick Alexander Kirkpatrick in his monograph *South America and the War; being the Substance of a Course of Lectures delivered in the University of London, King's College, under the Tooke Trust in the Lent*

Term, 1918 (Cambridge, University Press, 1918), treats of the following matters: (1) Political currents and forces; (2) The German outlook on "Latin America"; (3) The economic war and its propaganda; (4) The recognition of "Latin America"; (5) Effects of the war on the republics; (6) Pan-Americanism.—C. K. JONES.

This book will be reviewed in a later issue of this periodical.

Isabel of Castile (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York and London, 1919) by Ierne L. Plunket, the author of *The Fall of the Old Order, 1763-1815*, is a further proof of the hold that this remarkable woman has had through the centuries. The volume, which will be reviewed in a later issue of THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, is written in a readable style and is well illustrated. To students of Hispanic America, of course, the part dealing with Columbus and his expedition will have prime interest.

The Abingdon Press (formerly Eaton & Mains) has just issued *A History of Latin America*, by Professor William Warren Sweet, of De Pauw University. This volume is "designed to meet the need for a suitable text in 'Latin American' History" and is the result of "class-room experience". Having in mind a practical end, the author has not inserted a complete bibliography "containing books practically unobtainable", giving in place thereof reading references at the end of each chapter to various books in English that are readily obtainable. The book is divided into twenty chapters and is furnished with twenty maps, the latter of which will be of use to both teacher and student. This volume will be reviewed in a later issue of this REVIEW.

E. D. Trowbridge, in his volume *Mexico To-day and To-morrow* (New York, Macmillan, 1919), leads to a discussion of present-day Mexico by a hasty review of past history. The real interest of the work begins in the 8th chapter on "Porfirio Diaz". In the following chapters, he writes of various social and economic factors and reviews the Madero, Huerta, and Carranza era. Beginning with the 16th chapter, headings are as follows: Carranza—Villa—Zapata; Difficult conditions; Carranza and his troubles; The new constitution; Constitutional government; Financial needs; Mexico and the World War; Mexico and Foreign Capital; Agrarian and other problems. A review of Mr. Trowbridge's book will be published in a forthcoming issue of this REVIEW.

A new and revised version of A. Hyatt Verrill's *South and Central American Trade Conditions of Today* (originally published in 1914) has recently been issued from the press of Dodd, Mead, and Company. In his preface the author declares rather enigmatically that the volume "is not a book of travel, of history, of political or economic conditions, nor of descriptions of places and people; but a volume dealing with hard, cold facts, all of which are intimately connected with business and trade conditions in the Republics to the South". This work will be reviewed in a later issue of this REVIEW.

The Irving National Bank of New York City which, together with other financial institutions of the United States, is doing a great work in disseminating a more thorough knowledge of Hispanic America, has recently published a "Commercial Map of 'Latin America', " which is laid down on the Mercator Projection, of the convenient size of 25x32 inches; as well as a "Trade Chart of 'Latin America' ", of the same size. The first shows the boundaries of countries and of divisions; the capitals of countries, the railroads, the steamship routes, the navigable rivers, the locations of United States Consular Offices and Agencies, the submarine cables and important telegraph lines, the wireless stations, the deep shore harbors, the harbors with lighterage service, the principal mountains, and the elevations of various parts of the country in feet. The map has five inset maps of the whole territory on the main map, as follows: 1. Natural vegetation—showing forests, grasslands and cultivated lands, semi-deserts (prairies and steppes), desert, cold semi-desert, ice deserts and Alpine flora, and wooded region with timber commercially available; 2. Minerals and principal products—showing, a) location of deposits of iron, copper, silver, gold, tin, zinc, platinum, diamonds and other precious stones, and b) localities producing coffee, cocoa, rubber, cattle, wool and mutton, tobacco, sugar, and sponges; 3. density of population—showing by colors the density per square mile from under 2 to over 120, the chief Indian tribes, and the extent of the use of modern languages; 4. rainfall for the month of January—showing by color rainfall from 0-16 inches, mean temperatures in Fahrenheit degrees, and the prevailing winds; and 5. rainfall for July, similar to the preceding inset, except that rainfall is shown only up to 12 inches. On the back of the map is an index to cities, etc., by which any location desired can be easily found. The commercial chart is merely an outline map. Its value lies in the printed information given on each Central and South American country. For each country figures are

given of the area; the total population, the density per square mile, the total imports, and the per cent of imports from the United States, the imports per capita, the total exports, and the per cent of exports sold to the United States. There is also a list of the dependencies of the United States and European powers in Hispanic America giving the same information as noted above; a comparison of the area and population of the United States with Central and South America; a statement of the trade of the region covered by the chart for the years 1913-1917, showing trade conditions prior to and during the war by means of the imports and exports from and to the four leading commercial countries, namely, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, and the United States.

Both map and chart are arranged for hanging on the wall and are easy of consultation. Both of them are very attractively made and the colors are good. They are made for permanence and will stand a certain amount of rough or at least intimate handling. Although made primarily for commercial purposes, they should be in the possession of every teacher of the history of Hispanic America. The Irving National Bank, it is hoped, will extend to such teachers its generosity in sending these maps free of charge to those interested in commerce. As a matter of fact, teachers of Hispanic American history should keep in close touch with what institutions like the Irving National Bank are doing in Hispanic America.

Joseph T. Cosby, manager of the Foreign Department of the National City Bank of New York is the author of a little pamphlet of 31 pages entitled "*Latin American Monetary Systems and Exchange Conditions*" (New York, 1915). The author discusses the money system of Argentina, Brazil, Bolivia, Chile, Columbia, Costa Rica, Ecuador, Guatemala, Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Peru, Salvador, Uruguay, and Venezuela. The pamphlet will be found useful for reference by students of Hispanic American History. It is possible that copies of this pamphlet may still be procured by applying to the National City Bank of New York.

The Librería "La Facultad" of Juan Roldán, of Buenos Aires, announces two new series of interest to students of the history of Argentina, namely: *Bibliófilos Argentinos* and *Biblioteca Histórica Rioplatense*. The first series will be initiated with *Epítome Oriental y Occidental Náutica y Geográfica*, with an introduction by Diego Luis Molinari.

The first volume of the second series will be *Documentos relativos a la Legación Argentina cerca de su Excelencia el Libertador Presidente de la República de Colombia*, with a prologue by Dr. Molinari.—C. K. JONES.

Sr. Don Domingo Figarola-Caneda is the editor of a new publication soon to appear in Havana, namely, the *Anales de la Academia de la Historia*. The same scholar is also compiling a volume to be entitled *José Antonio Saco. Documentos para su Vida*, and the work is already well advanced. José Antonio Saco will be remembered as a historian and the author of the four-volume work *Historia de la Esclavitud*, besides various historical pamphlets. The volume is to consist of some 150 letters and other documents, and will have an introduction by the compiler. It is the intention to print about 70 copies of the edition on extra good paper, and the balance, perhaps 500 copies, in a cheaper form that will sell for about \$2.00. It is hoped that this Cuban publication will meet a good reception in the United States. There is considerable historical and biographical work to be done in Cuba and the abovenamed volume should be the first only of a series. The *Anales de la Academia de la Historia* should be another link in the chain that will help to bind together the countries of the Americas, for its aims are consonant at least in part with those of THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW.

The Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas, with headquarters in Barcelona is about to begin publication of a General Collection of Documents relative to the Philippine Islands existing in the Archivo de Indias, Seville. The edition will consist of 500 numbered copies, and it is the intention to publish at least two volumes annually at the price of 15 pesetas per volume. Documents will be published with all the peculiarities of the original manuscripts preserved. A special linen paper has been manufactured for the series by the house of Viuda de Wenceslao Guarro.

The *Catholic Historical Review* for January, 1919, contains an interesting article by Rev. Zephyrin Englehardt, O.F.M., on "Florida's first Bishop: Rt. Rev. Juan Juarez, O.F.M.". The same author also reviews H. E. Bolton's *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century* (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1915), and "The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish-American Colonies", which appeared recently in *The American Historical Review*, and which was issued also in reprint

form. Herbert I. Priestley presents the first part of "The Pedro Fages MS. on California", which is translated into English with annotations. The second part of the manuscript is given in the issue for April, 1919. The April number contains also an excellent article on "Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction in the Spanish Colonies" by Rev. Edwin A. Ryan, D.D., who it will be remembered presented a previous paper on this subject in an earlier issue of the same Review; and H. E. Bolton gives in English translation with annotations, the original document of "Father Escobar's Relation of the Oñate expedition to California". H. G. Doyle presents a review of Chapman's *A History of Spain*.

Cuba Contemporánea for January, 1919, contains the following articles touching the Americas: Ernesto Dichigo, "Política Internacional Europea: las Conferencias de la Paz. Los Estados Unidos y el Grupo Aliado. La Libertad de los Mares. Otros Problemas"; Luis R. Embil, "El Problema Social"; F. García Calderón, "El Testamento Occidental"; Juan C. Zamora, "Política Internacional Americana: Cuba en el Congreso de la Paz. La Cuestión de Tacna y Arica".—C. K. JONES.

El Estudiante Latino-Americano for January, 1919 contains an interesting article on "La Universidad de la Habana", by Homero Serís.

Hispania, "a Journal devoted to the interests of Teachers of Spanish, and published by the American Association of Teachers of Spanish", has completed its first year, and enters upon its second year with new aims and an enlarged program. An announcement in the February, 1919, number is to the effect that the review is hereafter to appear six times each year instead of four. Bibliographies are to be published in the issues for March, May, October, and December. These lists are useful, and it is suggested that it might be better to publish them in each issue.

In the issue of the above review for February appear the following interesting papers: J. H. Brovedani, "Las Universidades Españolas"; and Alfred Coester, "Some Impressions of South America". In the issue for March appear papers by John Casper Branner, "Importance of the Portuguese Language"; George W. Umphrey, "Spanish-American Poets of Today and Yesterday"; and Francisco J. Yánes, "Los Estados Unidos y los Países de Habla Española".

Inter-America issues of January and March are in Spanish and contain translations of articles contained in various periodicals published in the United States. The number for February, with translations from Hispanic American periodicals contains the following: Enrique J. Arce, "Early Presentments regarding the existence of a Western World", transl. from *La Revista Nueva* (Panamá); Ruy Barbosa, "Brazil in the Hour of Victory: How the News of the Armistice was proclaimed in the National Senate", transl. from *Revista Americana* (Rio de Janeiro); Trajano Brea, "My Tribute to Democracy: Washington, Lincoln and the North American People", transl. from *El Diario* (Buenos Aires); Jacinto Capello, "Long Life to Don Quijote", transl. from *La Información* (San José, Costa Rica); Hector Díaz Legui-Zamón, "Brazilian Diplomacy and the War", transl. from *Revista Americana* (Rio de Janeiro); Libertad Erstead, "International Reciprocity as related to Cabotage: a Problem of the Moment", transl. from *Revista de Ciencias Económicas* (Buenos Aires); Juan E. Guastavino, "Wilson", transl. from *Helios* (Buenos Aires); G. Jiménez Herrera, "An Historic Day: February 27, 1844", transl. from *La Pluma* (Valverde, Dominican Republic); Julio E. Rueda, "Pan Americanism: its Political and Economic Aspects", transl. from *Revista Comercial y de Intereses Económicos* (Quito); José Sixto de Sola, "A Moral Catechism for Americans", transl. from *Revista de Filosofía* (Buenos Aires).

La Lectura (Madrid), for November 1918, in its section "Españoles y Hispanoamericanos" reprints (in Spanish) from *Inter-America* of September, 1918, the address by President Wilson to the Mexican Newspapermen, at the White House, June 7, 1918. The same Review publishes also in the November issue, interesting reviews by J. Deleito Piñuela, of the *Biografía del General José Félix Ribas, Primer Teniente de Bolívar en 1813 y 1814*, by Juan Vicente González, and of *El General Sucre*, by Carlos Pereyra. The first is in the series "Biblioteca Ayacucho" and the second in the series "Biblioteca de la Juventud", both of which are published by the Editorial Americana, of Madrid.

The section entitled "Book Notes", published monthly in the *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* will be found very helpful to the student of Hispanic America. The "Notes" contain titles of "Books received in the Columbus Memorial Library of the Pan American Union".

The issue of *La Reforma Social* for February, 1919, contains the following articles of interest: Alejandro Álvarez, "La Política de Chile en

la Cuestión de Tacna y Arica"; Isaac Alzamora, "La Cuestión Peruano-Chilena"; Jacinto López, "La más grave Cuestión Internacional de América"; and Irene A. Wright, "El Maestre de Campo Don Juan de Texeda".—C. K. JONES.

The *Revista Argentina de Ciencias Políticas* for October, 1918, among other articles, has one by Luis B. Tamini on "La Liga de la Paz" and the "Proyecto del P.E. Nacional sobre Impuesto a la Renta."—C. K. JONES.

The library of Harvard University has a good collection of materials on Hispanic America consisting of 20,000 volumes and pamphlets. This was formed "in part by the purchase of three well-known libraries in South America and one in Cuba. Besides rich material in the field of literature, it is strong in historical and other periodicals, government documents, and material relating to colonial times, the Wars of Independence, and modern economic conditions. The Law School has an almost complete collection of South American codes and reports, as well as several hundred volumes on boundary disputes. The collection is especially strong in relation to Brazil, Cuba, Chile, Bolivia, Paraguay, and Venezuela.

The Universities of Texas and Iowa and the College of Pomona have taken advantage of the presence of Dr. Charles H. Cunningham in the city of Mexico to make substantial additions to their libraries of rare and valuable early additions on Spanish-American history and legislation.

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STATEMENT OF THE OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT, CIRCULATION,
ETC., REQUIRED BY THE ACT OF CONGRESS OF
AUGUST 24, 1912

Of THE HISPANIC AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW published Quarterly at Baltimore, Maryland, for April 1, 1919.
District of Columbia: ss.

Before me, a Notary Public in and for the State and county aforesaid, personally appeared James A. Robertson, who, having been duly sworn according to law, deposes and says that he is the Managing Editor of The Hispanic American Historical Review and that the following is, to the best of his knowledge and belief, a true statement of the ownership, management (and if a daily paper, the circulation), etc., of the aforesaid publication for the date shown in the above caption, required by the Act of August 24, 1912, embodied in section 443, Postal Laws and Regulations, printed on the reverse of this form, to wit:

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JAMES A. ROBERTSON,
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Sworn to and subscribed before me this 21st day of April, 1919.

[SEAL]

WM. H. DELANEY,
(My commission expires May 23, 1920.)